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Delegations Arrive for Warsaw Military Meeting

LD0210185589 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] The 40th meeting of the Military Council of the United Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states will open in Warsaw tomorrow. Today, military delegations from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Romania, Hungary, and the Soviet Union arrived in Warsaw. The meeting will be headed by the commander in chief of the United Armed Forces, Army General Petr Lushev.

Pact Defense Ministers To Meet Nov in Hungary

LD0709213589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] A conference of defense ministers of Warsaw Pact member states will be held at the beginning of November in Budapest.

Central Committee Secretaries Conference Opens

AU2609103789 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] On 26 September a conference of central committee secretaries on international affairs of the communist and workers parties of the socialist parties opened in Varna. The conference was opened by Comrade Milko Balev.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], and personally on behalf of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, he greeted the participants. He pointed out that the present conference is taking place at a special period, in the light of the increasing importance of international relations issues, and the historical emerging changes in world development. We are witnessing an ever clearer tendency to normalize political and other relations between the USSR and the United States, and between East and West. The socialist countries, each in its own manner and in accordance with its specific conditions, are marching along the road of restructuring and renewing all spheres of socialist society. There is a general conviction, Comrade Milko Balev said, that despite the difficulties and problems, the role and responsibility of the socialist countries is increasing in the present mutually dependent world.

The speaker expressed the conviction of the BCP Central Committee that the subjects to be discussed by the conference, are urgent and important both from the viewpoint of the present needs of socialist construction and the common tasks of the struggle for peace.

At the conference, which will continue for 3 days, the representatives of the fraternal parties will discuss important issues of the international situation, the development of socialism, and cooperation among the socialist countries.

12 Delegations Meet in Varna

AU0210143889 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 27 Sep 89 p 2

[Report by Boyko Vutov, RABOTNICHESKO DELO special correspondent from Varna: "Open-Minded Reflections on the Future of Socialism"]

[Text] Varna, 26 September—A conference of Central Committee secretaries in charge of foreign policy from communist and workers parties of socialist countries opened in the Golden Sands resort near Varna today. The conference is expected to last 3 days, during which time the participants will discuss the current international situation, the development of socialism, and cooperation among socialist states. Opinions will be exchanged on the future prospects of the all-European process at this new stage of development.

The following delegations participate in the conference:

A delegation from the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], headed by Milko Balev, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the BCP Central Committee;

A delegation from the Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV], headed by Tan Xuan Bach, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPV Central Committee;

A delegation from the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], headed by Hermann Axen, member of the SED Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee;

A delegation from the Workers Party of Korea [WPK], headed by Ho Tam, member of the WPK Political Bureau and secretary of the SED Central Committee;

A delegation from the Communist Party of Cuba [PCC], headed by Jorge Valdes Risquet, member of the of the PCC Politburo and of the PCC Secreteriat;

A delegation from the Lao People's Revolutionary Party [LPRP], headed by Somlat Chanthamat, secretary of the LPRP Central Central Committee;

A delegation from the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP], headed by Tserenpiliyn Balhaajav, secretary of the MPRP Central Committee;

A delegation from the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], headed by Wlodzimierz Natorf, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee;

A delegation from the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], headed by Ion Stoian, candidate member of the RCP Political Executive Committee and secretary of the RCP Central Committee;

A delegation from the CPSU Central Committee, headed by Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Committee and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee;

A delegation from the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], headed by Geza Kotai, member of the MSZMP Central Committee and director of the party's International Relations Department;

A delegation from the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ], headed by Jozef Lenart, member of the CPCZ Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

Aleksandr Subbotin, editor in chief of the PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM journal also participates in the work of the conference.

The meeting was opened by Milko Balev, leader of the BCP delegation. He pointed out that the present meeting is taking place under the circumstances of increasingly important problems involving international relations under the conditions of emerging, historical changes in worldwide developments. Emphasizing the fact that struggle for the survival of mankind is an universally valid task of priority importance, Milko Balev stressed that the dialectics between general human problems and class issues continues to be topical, and that the question of class struggle should by no means be removed from the agenda.

Milko Balev pointed out that the international situation is exceptionally complicated and dynamic and that we will only gain from discussing it with an optimally specific approach. He expressed the wish that the forthcoming discussions may turn into an open-minded reflection about the fate of socialism. The socialist countries today—each of them in its own way and in accordance with its own specific conditions—are proceeding along the difficult path of restructuring, of reforms, and renewal in all spheres. The things that are being accomplishes with great efforts in the world of socialism today are of historical importance for the fate of all our countries and of our entire system.

The conference will continue its work tomorrow.

CPCZ Delegation Arrives

AU2709203889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Sep 89 p 1

[CTK Sofia dispatch: "Prior to a Conference on the Situation in the World"]

[Text] Sofia (CTK correspondent)—Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee, arrived in Varna on Monday [25 September] to attend a conference of secretaries for international affairs of the socialist countries' communist and workers parties.

Other member of the CPCZ delegation are Michal Stefanak, head of the CPCZ Central Committee International Affairs Department, and Josef Laska, deputy head of a CPCZ Central Committee department.

The participants in the conference will discuss topical aspects of the present international situation, of the further development of socialism, and of cooperation among socialist countries. They will also exchange opinions on the present development of the all- European process and its prospects.

ADN Reports on Meeting

LD2609155589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1255 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Sofia (ADN)—A meeting of the secretaries for international issues of the Central Committees of communist and workers' parties of socialist countries began in Varna on Tuesday.

It is being attended by representatives of the communist and workers' parties of Bulgaria, the CSSR, the GDR, the DPRK, Cuba, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, Hungary, and Vietnam, and by representatives of the magazine PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] delegation is led by Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee. It also includes Central Committee members Manfred Feist and Roland Bauer, as well as Central Committee deputy department head Joachim Boehm.

Zhivkov Meets USSR's Yakovlev

AU2709193789 Sofia BTA in English 1841 GMT 27 Sep 89

["Todor Zhivkov Receives Aleksandr Yakovlev"—BTA headline]

[Text] Varna, September 27 (BTA)—The issues related to the international situation, the development of socialism and cooperation between the socialist countries focused the attention at the meeting today between Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and president of the State Council, and Mr Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the CPSU, who is paying a visit to this country as a head of the CPSU delegation at the conference on international issues of the secretaries of the central committees of the communist and workers parties from the socialist states.

On behalf of the Bulgarian Communists Mr Todor Zhivkov stressed with particular satisfaction the identity in principle of the major objectives and trends of restructuring taking place in all spheres of social life in Bulgaria and the USSR. He indicated that there are now new wide opportunities to raise versatile cooperation between the two countries to a qualitatively higher level, for the application of new forms of closer interaction between the BCP and the CPSU to the interest of socialism and peace.

It was stressed at the meeting that in the light of the new political thinking the promising foundation for a lasting unity and interaction between the socialist states is not a mechanical unification but insistent creative seeking of solutions, based on the real interests for which our common political base is creating favourable possibilities. Alongside that, priority today has the coordination of actions between the two parties and states on principal issues, the friendly interest in the success of the partners, the accurate fulfillment of the undertaken obligations, the deep understanding of national and international interests in their organic mutual relation. In this respect the great significance was stressed of deepening of socialist integration and expanding of economic cooperation between the socialist states as a material base for their unity.

Unanimous was the assessment that the increase of the socialist countries' political activity on the international stage is a remarkable event which shows the efficiency of the new political thinking in international relations. A substantial evidence of that are these countries' large-scale initiatives for disarmament, strengthening of peace and cooperation in Europe and in the world, for settling of the global problems of mankind, for saving and development of world civilization.

On behalf of the Bulgarian Communists and working people Mr Todor Zhivkov sent most cordial greetings to Mr Mikhail Gorbachev and the Soviet people.

Conference Ends

AU2809180489 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] The conference of secretaries on international affairs of the central committees of communist and workers parties of the socialist countries has ended in Varna.

The participants exchanged views on the contemporary world situation and topical issues relating to the international activities of their parties. It was stressed that the realities of our complex, dynamic times demand a strengthening of the cooperation, solidarity, and unity of the communist parties of the socialist countries.

It was once again confirmed that every party is creatively applying the principles of scientific socialism and taking account of the natural laws of socialist construction in accordance with the specific conditions in its country.

The participants confirmed their parties' readiness to continue in the future to develop comprehensive cooperation and interaction in the international arena in the interest of socialism and peace.

Zhivkov Receives Secretaries

AU2809182689 Sofia BTA in English 1729 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] Varna, September 28 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and president of the State Council, today received the leaders of the delegations to the meeting of the secretaries in charge of international affairs of the central committees of the communist and workers parties of the socialist countries which was held from September 26 through September 28 in Varna.

Mr Aleksandr Yakovlev, Politburo member and secretary of the CC of the CPSU, informed about the results of the discussion on the international situation, the development of present-day socialism, the cooperation between the socialist countries and the prospects of the all-European process at this new stage.

Mr Todor Zhivkov pointed out the importance of the measures taken in order to extend the restructuring in the socialist countries, which create conditions for making more adequate use of the potentials of socialism in the name of people's well-being. He assessed positively the readiness expressed at the meeting to strengthen the solidarity and cohesion between the fraternal parties of the socialist countries.

Mr Todor Zhivkov underlined that the most important task—safeguarding peace in the world, strengthening security and mutual confidence, promoting mutually advantageous cooperation on the basis of equality, the assertion of new political thinking and action and the idea of building an all-European home—is in compliance with the interests of all peoples.

The meeting passed in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

More on Conference

AU2809211089 Sofia BTA in English 1901 GMT 28 Sep 89

["The Socialist Countries' Role and Responsibility"—BTA headline]

[Text] Varna, September 28 (BTA)—Today the secretaries in charge of international affairs of the central committees of the communist and workers parties of the socialist countries, who held a three-day meeting in Varna, completed their work. The secretaries discussed the key problems of the socialist construction present-day requirements and the common tasks to be carried out in the struggle for peace. The exchange of views made it possible to discuss all matters as much to the point as possible. This helped form similar positions with regard to the problems of international development and the activity of the communist parties. The opinions drawn are reflected in the announcement of the results of the meeting which will be published in the press.

All participants share the conviction that, despite the obvious difficulties and problems in the contemporary interrelated world, the role and the responsibility of the socialist countries are not decreased, on the contrary, they are growing. It was pointed out that the success of the innovation in the socialist world is of primary importance for the content and the dynamics of all-European cooperation. The exchange of views on the questions of class struggle and the protection of universal values to the interest of peace and social progress in the world was particularly useful. Great importance was attached to the strengthening of the unity of action of the communist and workers parties on matters of principle in our time. This is especially necessary for furthering the present-day all-European process and for the realization of the idea of the all-European home.

The representatives of the following parties took part in the meeting: the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Communist Party of Vietnam, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Workers Party of Korea, the Cuban Communist Party, the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, The Polish United Workers Party, the Romanian Communist Party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

CSSR's Lenart Comments

LD2809222389 Prague CTK in English 2120 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] Varna Sept 28 (CTK correspondent)—The Central Committees of the socialist countries' fraternal parties are particularly interested in political methods of solving internal as well as international problems, Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Lenart, delegate to a session of socialist countries' communist and workers' parties' secretaries for international issues, has told CTK.

Jozef Lenart pointed out the support expressed for the initiatives of the Czechoslovak Communist Party delegation in both of these spheres.

At the same time he stated that the difference of ideas and opinions is considered a natural phenomenon and is a result of individual countries' creative attitude to solutions of internal and international relations. However, this does not mean that they do not seek common platforms and do not struggle for unification in the solution of the main tasks awaiting the political parties in the countries of the council for mutual economic assistance, he said.

In this connection Jozef Lenart pointed out the initiative of Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes aimed at the creation of a zone of confidence, cooperation and good neighbourly relations on the borderline between the countries of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO as well as the proposal of Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec to call a meeting on ecological cooperation in Central Europe, which has also met with support at the Varna session.

Jozef Lenart stressed the need for pushing through political solutions in international issues. Progressive parties in all countries of the world can dynamically help solve problems concerning all mankind, the Czechoslovak representative said.

Statement Issued

LD2909193389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1600 GMT 29 Sep 89

["From the statement on the meeting of Central Committee secretaries for International Questions"—ADN heading]

[Text] Sofia (ADN)—On the threshold of the 1990's there have arisen more extensive possibilities than before for a peaceful and constructive development of international relations, the participants in the meeting of the secretaries for international questions of the Central Committees of Communists and Workers' Parties of Socialist Countries stress in a statement. A delegation from the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] headed by Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, had participated in the meeting in Varna.

The situation in the world is characterized by the struggle of two tendencies, on the one hand the increasing striving for detente, disarmament, and peace, and the unflagging attempts by forces acting from imperialist positions to maintain the course of confrontation and tension. They continued the policy of pressure and diktat, rearmament, and activities against socialism and peace.

Thanks to the activity of the socialist countries and other forces of peace, reason, and realism, which are in favor of the implementation of a new political thinking and action in international affairs, preliminary steps have been made on the path toward nuclear disarmament, the statement goes on. However, the international situation remains complicated and contradictory, and positive processes are not yet complete and irreversible.

Ending the arms race, disarmament, the banning and elimination of chemical, nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, ending nuclear weapons tests and the militarization of space, as well as substantial reductions in conventional forces, arms, and military budgets are the key issues of our times. The connection between peace, disarmament, and development was pointed out, and the idea of using funds released from reducing defense expenditure and disarmament for economic and social development, particularly that of economically underdeveloped countries, was supported.

Concerning prospects for the pan-European process, it is stated that new relationships on the European continent require respect for the territorial and political realities which have arisen, and the sovereign equality of all states, strict adherence to the principles of national independence, complete equality, noninterference in internal affairs, mutual advatange, the renunciation of a policy of strength, and the threat of force.

It is necessary to resolutely repulse the activities of the revanchist and neo-Nazi forces and to counter chauvinistic manifestations and attempts to play off countries and peoples against each other and to sow enmity among them.

On current problems of socialism, the statement says that the fate of peace and social progress is linked most closely to the dynamic development of the socialist states, to the further development of their overall cooperation, to far-reaching socioeconomic changes, and to the processes of the perfection, renewal, and restructuring of socialism. The realities of the present complicated and eventful period made it objectively necessary to consolidate the cooperation, the solidarity, and unity of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries. The meeting once again affirmed that every party applies the principles of scientific socialism and observes the inherent laws of socialist construction according to their countries' specific conditions, and that the relations between the parties are based on independence, equality, autonomy, and each party's accountability towards its people.

Attempts by imperialist and other antisocialist forces to destabilize and weaken socialism, the abuse of the topic of human rights, and opposing propaganda to discredit socialist countries are completely incompatible with the interests of peace, security, and international understanding, the fraternal parties stressed. They expressed their solidarity with those socialist countries who are the particular victims of attacks by imperialism, particularly the People's Deputies of Bulgaria, the GDR, the DPRK, and Cuba.

In the statement stresses that the participants in the meeting support broad cooperation with socialist and social democratic parties in the interests of peace and progress. Peace is indivisible and must embrace all regions and countries.

Kotai Comments to MTI

LD2909213189 Budapest MTI in English 1951 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] Sofia, September 29 (MTI)—The Central Committee secretaries in charge of international affairs of the communist and workers' parties of 12 socialist countries held a consultation in Varna from September 26 to 28. The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [HSWP/MSZMP] was represented by Geza Kotai, head of the Central Committee's Department of International Party Relations. The HSWP delegation dissociated itself from the communique adopted, and only consented that the document should register its participation and the contribution of its head. Mr Kotai gave a statement to the Sofia correspondent of MTI.

There were two items on the agenda, he said. The parties assessed the world and European situation and the related tasks, and the relations and cooperation between the socialist countries. We examined our common endeavours and what should be considered national tasks. There was a debate over the assessment of the world and European situation and the fact that all countries evaluated the processes from their specific aspects made differences considerable.

As the Hungarian delegation did not identify with the communique drawn up by the drafting committee of the conference, it was not party to signature. While the document urges the consolidation of what is called socialist property, the Hungarian delegation cannot accept its monopoly at a time when the HSWP is aiming at the mixed property form and real market economy.

Mention is made in the document about the gaining ground of revanchism, neofascism and neonazism in "certain countries." We consider the statement to clearly refer to the Federal Republic of Germany and we refute it. Although we admit such forces probably exist in the FRG, as elsewhere, we do not consider the policy of the FRG Government to be characterized by revanchism and neoNazism.

The attitude of the Soviet delegation almost entirely coincided with our position and we considered the views expressed by the Bulgarian and Polish participants acceptable. I believe the press communique does not completely tally with the contributions.

The meeting was held in a civilized manner. Several participants expressed sympathy with the Hungarian position, at the plenary session and unofficially. The occurrences should not be exaggerated and diversity and differences over certain issues will not impede our future cooperation in a number of other fields. I do not see it as a disaster that our national conscience could not reconcile itself to all outlined endeavours. As we live in different geographical regions and have different problems, history and conditions, we can expect differences of views, said Geza Kotai to MTI.

Riga International Conference on Rights Opens

AU2508161989 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 23 Aug 89 p 7

[Article signed 'mt': "Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia—From Self-Determination to Independence"]

[Text] "The United States has never recognised the annexation of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia by the Soviet Union in 1940" stated U.S. Senator Robert Kasten at the International Conference on the Right of Nations to Self-Determination.

The opening session of the conference in the Latvian capital of Riga was attended by delegates from the Ukraine, Georgia, and Armenia, as well as from the Baltic republics. The theme of the conference is an examination of the possibilities for the independence of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia.

As had been previously stated by Janis Freimanis, the chairman of the Latvian People's Front, the Front at its coming October session plans to pass a resolution stating that its aim is the independence of Latvia. In its current program there was hitherto only talk of self-determination. "We are anticipating that our congress will adopt this change" stated Freimanis.

On Tuesday [22 Aug] there were preparations in the capital cities of the Baltic republics for the 50th anniversary of the signing of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact.

An organization called "Young Lithuania" picketed the square in front of Saint Stanislaw's Cathedral in Vilnius. The demonstrators held up banners proclaiming: 'Red Army Go Home' and 'There can be no free Europe without a free Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia.' The representatives declared a hunger strike for the 23 August.

Lithuanian organizations forwarded an open letter to the UN secretary general, in which they demand free elections in Lithuania under the supervision of a special international commission. Signatures are being collected to be appended to the letter which has been written in Lithuanian, Polish, and Russian.

Maps of the three Baltic republics have been distributed on the streets of Riga, on which is drawn the route of the 600 km "living chain" which Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians will form at 1900 hours on 23 August linking the three Baltic republic capital cities for 15 minutes.

Warsaw Notes Strains on Pact, CEMA Ties

LD1309125689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 13 Sep 89

[Report by correspondent Krzysztof Wojna]

[Text] There are nearly 30 political parties and groups currently operating in Hungary and that is why it is not possible to present reliably the views of public opinion there. But as far as the refugees are concerned, all in all they are very much unanimous. The Hungarians simply do not want to become the victim of German-German disputes. The fact that large numbers of GDR citizens who did not intend returning home were gathering on Hungarian territory had been known for a long time. Two camps were even prepared for them. On top of that they also lived at camping sites, in tents and in hotels. The authorities in Budapest had been awaiting the outcome of talks between Berlin and Bonn, believing that the refugee problem should be resolved through negotiations. Since negotiations produced no result and the fall arrived, the Hungarians could not indefinitely keep East German refugees in their country. They were not prepared for that either financially or organizationally. Although the 1969 extradition treaty with the GDR still remains valid, it applies to persons committing crimes in Hungary. But today an attempt to cross the border is not a crime, merely a misdemeanor. In that sense the 20-year-old treaty has not been violated. On the other hand, by deciding to detain the GDR citizens and ship them back home Hungary would have violated the Geneva convention on refugees, of which it is a signatory. Multilateral agreements, I was told by a high-ranking representative of the Hungarian authorities, must have priority before bilateral agreements. Consequently, the opening of the border was the only way out for the Hungarians and the GDR was warned that if no accord was reached with the Bonn Government a flood of refugees would flow toward the Federal Republic.

The Hungarians have very bad relations with Romania. The reason is the Hungarian minority which is treated, as they maintain in Budapest, in an unacceptable manner. Relations with Czechoslovakia, where the issue of the Hungarian minority also plays a very significant role, are also strained. After what has happened, relations with the GDR are very bad. One does not need to be a prophet to see that this cannot leave unaffected the erstwhile interrelations within the group of the socialist states. It appears—and the evolution on the Vistula has very important significance here—that the existing model of operation of mutual relations in the group of states belonging to the Warsaw Pact and the CEMA has suddenly aged very badly.

CEMA Bureau for Coal Mining Opens Session

AU2209112989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Sep 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Contacts" column]

[Text] The second session of the CEMA Bureau for Coal Mining opened in Horni Becva in Vsetin District on Tuesday [19 September], in the presence of coal industry representatives from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Romania, and the Soviet Union, as well as observers from Yugoslavia. The session deals with questions of increasing the efficiency of coal mining, with the development and production of new technologies and technical devices for coal mining at great depths and in complicated mining-geological conditions, and with the technology of coal treatment and briquetting.

Daily Hails Shevardnadze UNGA Speech

AU2809091489 Sofia BTA in English 0826 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] Sofia, September 28 (BTA)—In the present crucial period when the world is drawing away from the Cold War and making vital steps to do away with polarization the Soviet foreign policy is showing objectives and landmarks which are valid for all, RABOTNICHESKO DELO writes in a commentary on Mr Edward Shevardnadze's speech before the UN General Assembly.

The daily characterizes the Soviet foreign minister's speech as a fresh proof that Moscow's foreign policy corresponds to its historic responsibility about the world's fate.

RABOTNICHESKO DELO comments the Soviet-US agreements for accelerating the course of negotiations for doing away with the two countries' chemical weapons arsenals is a new step towards disarmament which increases the hopes of humankind for a more peaceful future. According to this daily's prognosis the meeting next year between Mr Mikhail Gorbachev and Mr George Bush will give a new powerful impetus to the efforts for security and cooperation.

The United Nations Organization whose global peaceful role is hailed by the Soviet Union, Bulgaria and the other socialist countries, the daily writes in conclusion, should largely contribute to the stable positive development of East-West relations, to the building of new international relations of understanding and cooperation.

Soviet-U.S. Relations 'Reinforce Hopes'

AU3009164589 Sofia BTA in English 1541 GMT 30 Sep 89

[Text] Sofia, September 30 (BTA)—The increasingly vigorous promotion of Soviet-American relations is an important factor of the improvement of the international climate and reinforces the peoples' hopes for a nuclear-free and peaceful world, points out RABOTNICHESKO DELO, analysing in several features various aspects of superpower relations.

Perhaps the day is not long away when the chemical weapons threat will be eliminated. The USSR and the U.S. preparedness to assume reciprocal commitments for the reduction and even complete elimination of their chemical weapons stocks outlines a specific and quite feasible way to get rid of the "silent death" menace, the newspaper writes.

RABOTNICHESKO DELO says that the achievement of the desired goal: the conclusion of a convention on the complete and general prohibition of chemical weapons, requires wide-ranging international cooperation as twenty countries in the world possess or are capable of producing such weapons.

The Shevardnadze-Baker common understanding is characterized by the paper as a powerful impetus to the Conventional Forces in Europe talks in Vienna. The fact that in Vienna both the Warsaw Treaty and NATO favour the conclusion of a conventional disarmament agreement as early as 1990 is inspiring hopes. This time would have been too short if it were not for the converging views of the negotiating parties, the paper writes and points out in this connection the importance of the Soviet Union's acceptance of President Bush's suggestion that an agreement be reached in Vienna within six to twelve months' time.

Foreign Ministry Welcomes SRV Withdrawal

AU2909192589 Sofia BTA in English 1744 GMT 29 Sep 89

["Statement of the Foreign Affairs Ministry Spokesman"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, September 29 (BTA)—The foreign affairs ministry spokesman told a BTA representative:

"The Vietnamese troops' withdrawal from Cambodia, which ended on September 26 this year, solves one of the key problems for settling of the Cambodian issue.

"Priority now has the prevention of the threat of returning of the regime of genocide, the stopping of foreign military aid, the ceasefire between the opponent Cambodian groups and the continuation of the process of negotiation.

"The first positive reactions of the Vietnamese Cambodian initiative are promising.

"Our country considers the Vietnamese troops' withdrawal from Cambodia as a turning point opening real possibilities for the elimination of the hotbeds of tensions in that region of the world and expresses hopes that the created favourable conditions will contribute for the achievement of a just settlement of the Cambodian problem by political means.

"The People's Republic of Bulgaria supports all initiatives directed at the neutralization of the threat of increase of military actions in Cambodia, at termination of the military assistance and interference from the outside, at normalization of the situation in the country and in the region."

Zhivkov Attends PRC National Day Reception

AU2909203389 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] Li Fenglin, the PRC ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Bulgaria, gave a reception this evening to mark his country's National Day and the 40th anniversary of the foundation of the People's Republic of China.

The reception was attended by Comrades Todor Zhivkov, Dimitur Stoyanov, Yordan Yotov, and Stoyan Ovcharov; Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly; leaders of sociopolitical and mass organizations; figures from science, culture, and the arts; and chiefs and members of the diplomatic missions accredited to Bulgaria.

The reception was held in a cordial comradely atmosphere.

Anniversary Marked

AU3009154689 Sofia BTA in English 1346 GMT 30 Sep 89

["Bulgaria, China Seek New Quality of Socialist Interrelations"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, September 29 (BTA correspondent)—At a ceremonial meeting at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, the Bulgarian public marked the 40th anniversary of the proclamation of the People's Republic of China and of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

The meeting was attended by Mr Yordan Yotov, Politburo member and secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], by public figures, scientists and artists.

Prof Ivan Iliev, vice president and chief scientific secretary of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and president of the Bulgarian-Chinese Friendship Society, delivered a report on the two anniversaries. The triumph of the Chinese Revolution was a fact of global historic importance which resulted in an addition to the socialist countries' family, he emphasized. The revolution was prepared continually by the progressive forces of the Chinese people in the conditions of an overall upsurge of the revolutionary and national liberation movement in the world. The speaker went on to trace the deep-going social reforms in society, the raising of the prestige of the working class and of its vanguard, the Communist Party of China.

Discussing the present-day development of the world's most populous nation, Prof Ivan Iliev pointed out that it is the seventh largest economic power in the world. It has made considerable progress in the development of its science and technology, including space science and technologies, culture and education.

The translation into reality of China's constructive plans outlined by the 13th Congress of the Communist Party of China (1987) needs above all stable peace, said the president of the Bulgarian-Chinese Friendship Society. This idea is one of that country's principal foreign policy conceptions. After major reversals in their development, the relations with the Soviet Union and with the socialist countries have now emerged as an important factor of international life and will have an exceedingly favourable impact on the process of detente and of strengthening world peace, on the development of socialism and its growing role in international affairs.

The speaker recalled that Bulgaria was one of the first countries which recognised the People's Republic of China right after it was proclaimed. The links between the two socialist countries started progressing with the establishment of diplomatic relations. After that process was interrupted, bilateral contacts in the political, cultural and other fields have been reactivated since the beginning of the 1980's. The exchange of visits by the two countries' party and state leaders in 1987 opened a new page in the promotion of Bulgaro-Chinese relations and gave an impetus to their overall expansion. "We are convinced," Prof Iliev said, "that the restructuring and the reforms in all spheres of life under way in our countries open up wide-ranging opportunities for efficient cooperation and for the exchange of experience in various fields of our development. The Bulgarian and the Chinese peoples will always cooperate for the sake of the maintenance of world peace and security."

The meeting was also addressed by Mr Li Fenglin, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of China to Bulgaria. He thanked this country for the celebration of China's National Day. The relations of friendship and cooperation will keep developing confidently, comprehensively and profoundly, he said.

He traced his country's socialist road of development and the wide-scale construction under way in it. He discussed the reform process which encounters difficulties and creates tensions. The ambassador thanked the BCP, the Bulgarian Government and people for their sympathy and support for the struggle against the counterrevolutionary rebels.

His speech further dwelt on the new stage in the development of friendly relations between the two countries, which will by all means encourage and increase the exchange and cooperation in various fields.

Atanasov Receives Albanian Trade Minister

AU2909215989 Sofia BTA in English 2108 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] Sofia, September 29 (BTA)—Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received today Mr Shane Korbeci, the Albanian minister of foreign trade.

The satisfaction of the two countries was expressed with the fulfillment of the agreements of the long-term protocol for goods exchange between Bulgaria and Albania and of the protocol from 1989, as well as with the mutual wish for the further expansion of trade and economic cooperation. A positive assessment was given to the development of business relations between partners from the two countries and a stress was made that over the past years the goods exchange has increased almost threefold.

The guest, who is on a visit here for the 45th Plovdiv International Technical Fair, pointed to Bulgaria's achievements in the sphere of electronics and machine building and indicated the favourable possibilities which they give for the deepening of bilateral cooperation.

Stoian Visits, Conveys Ceausescu's Greetings

AU2809195189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2006 GMT 28 Sep 89

["Messages Exchanged Between Nicolae Ceausescu and Todor Zhivkov"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 28/9/1989—On behalf of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] general secretary, president of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu and of Mrs Elena Ceausescu, a cordial salute was conveyed to the general secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the Bulgarian Communist Party, president of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Thanking for the message, Todor Zhivkov conveyed in his turn a warm salute to Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu.

The exchange of messages was occasioned by the call on Todor Zhivkov by Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, now in Bulgaria to attend the meeting of the secretaries in charge of international questions of the Central Committees of the Communist and Worker Parties in socialist countries.

During the talk held on the occasion emphasis was placed on the good ties between the two parties and states, between the neighbour and friendly Romanian and Bulgarian peoples, in the development of which the summit meetings and talks had a decisive role. Stress was laid on the resolution of the RCP and the BCP to work further for the development and strengthening of the collaboration on multiple planes, in the interest of the two peoples, of socialism and peace throughout the world.

Nation Prepares To Host All-Europe Ecoforum

AU2809155389 Sofia BTA in English 1526 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] Sofia, September 28 (BTA)—At a press conference held today the representatives of the respective competent organizations spoke about Bulgaria's preparations as a host to the forthcoming intergovernmental all-European conference on the conservation of the environment.

Mr Ivan Ganev, deputy minister of foreign affairs, informed the Bulgarian and foreign journalists about the course of the preparations for this forum, which is the first one of this kind. We would like to point out with satisfaction that the candidacy of Bulgaria was unanimously approved with a full consensus on the part of the 35 countries which took part in the Vienna meeting, he said.

Mr Ivan Ganev pointed out that Bulgaria is and will do her best fo ensuring the conditions for sincere, creative and constructive discussions at the time of the meeting, which will be opened on October 16 this year in Sofia, it is this country's firm resolution to strictly fulfill all obligations ensuing from her being appointed organizer of the European Ecoforum.

Mr Ganev announced that a lot of countries accepted Bulgaria's proposal for the participation of their competent statesmen in the ceremonial opening of the conference. Replying to a question, he specified the countries which have already confirmed the participation of governmental representatives in the meeting: Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Poland, the Soviet Union, France, Greece, the Netherlands, Cyprus. Of course this is not official and preclusive information as the matter is still discussed, he said.

Referring to Turkey's participation in the meeting, Mr Ivan Ganev stated that it is the sovereign right of each country to make her own decision with regard to such important problems. The decision for holding the meeting in Sofia was adopted by all 35 countries, Turkey included, Mr Ganev noted, and expressed his hope that Turkey will take part in the meeting. Non-participation in this or that forum would be a precedent, and all countries are well aware of the importance of such a precedent, Mr Ganev said, adding that Turkey's decision will be a criterion as to her attiude to such important problems as those of ecology are.

The limitation of transboundary consequences of industrial accidents, the handling of harmful chemical substances and the struggle against the pollution of international rivers and lakes are the three main subjects which will be debated at open plenary sessions and within closed working groups at the forum in Sofia. This announcement was made by Mr Nikolay Dyulgerov, chairman of the Committee for the Conservation of the Environment, who reminded that the agenda and all matters related to the organization and the procedures of the conference in Sofia had been defined by the mandate of the Vienna meeting.

Mr Nikolay Dyulgerov familiarized those present wth Bulgaria's ecological policy. Two fundamental documents have been worked out: a national programme for the conservation and restoration of the environment up to the year 2000, the amount allotted being more than three milliard leva's worth, and an environment conservation law. They will be published for nation-wide discussion in the near future.

The Bulgarian and the international public show great interest in Sofia forum. More than 70 mass events concerning the problems of the protection of environment are organized by different public organizations in Bulgaria. International events such as the 3-day conference "Public Organizations and the Protection of the

Environment", the "Ecological Security and the All-European Home" round-table and the scientific symposium "Restoring Cleanness of the Danube" will be held in parallel with the all-European (?forum) and Bulgarian and foreign interested parties will be able to take part in them. This announcement was made by Mr Nikolay Dyulgerov, who recalled that the Vienna meeting mandate makes it possible for representatives of public organizations and citizens to attend the open plenary sessions of the all-European forum as observers, but only the official delegations are granted the right to take part in the discussions.

Answering a question asked by a representative of the BTA concerning the safety of the Bulgarian nuclear power station in Kozloduy, situated on the bank of the Danube, Mr Nikolay Todoriev, president of the "Energetika" Association, said that in Kozloduy all latest inventions designed for securing the safety of nuclear power stations are being made use of. For example, 12 years ago an American system was put into operation with the purpose of automatically breaking the work of the reactors in case of dangerous earthquakes and a number of other measures have been taken to increase seismic safety. The exhausted fuel is sent to the Soviet Union (based on a bilateral agreement), the question of constructing a national low-radioactivity waste storage is under discussion, etc. In cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries the replacement of the 440-Megawatt reactors which were put into operation more than 15 years ago in Kozloduy is also discussed.

Gorbachev Sends Message of Support

AU2809211689 Sofia BTA in English
1911 GMT 28 Sep 89

["Ecoforum for Peace Gets Recognition and Support"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, September 28 (BTA)—"I greet the world ecological movement, its humane ideals and noble initiatives in the struggle for peace and environmental protection.

"You can rely on the Soviet people's all-round support for your activity to the benefit of mankind.

"Sept. 26, 1989. Mikhail Gorbachev."

This is the first entry in the Golden Book of the World Movement Ecoforum for Peace, which has its headquarters in Sofia.

Consular Talks Held With FRG in Sofia

AU2909204889 Sofia BTA in English
1906 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] Sofia, September 29 (BTA)—Regular consultations between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria and the FRG were held in Sofia from September 27 till 29 this year on problems regarding the two countries consular relations. The two parties discussed the agreements on alleviation of the visa issuing procedures for mutual visits, cooperation in the sphere of legal aid on civil and criminal actions, issues of social security, and financial provision and medical service for citizens of one of the countries visiting the other one.

During the talks, which passed in a businesslike and constructive spirit, the guests were acquainted with the changes in our legislation, dealing with foreign travels of the Bulgarian citizens. The delegation of the Foreign Affairs Ministry of the FRG was received by Mr Mariy Ivanov, first deputy foreign affairs minister.

Zhivkov Receives Iranian Heavy Industry Minister

AU2909204489 Sofia BTA in English
1909 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] Sofia, September 29 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, State Council president of Bulgaria, received today Mr Mohammed Haji Nejat-Hoyseyniyan, minister for heavy industry of Iran.

During the talks a high assessment was given of the development of bilateral relations in the sphere of the economy and in other spheres. It was stressed that the new stage of restoration and development which Iran is entering opens wide possibilities for mutually beneficial cooperation between Bulgarian and Iranian companies for the application of modern forms of interaction such as common investments and the setting up of joint companies.

Lukanov Signs Protocol

AU0110145989 Sofia BTA in English
1840 GMT 30 Sep 89

[Text] Plovdiv, September 30 (BTA)—At the autumn Plovdiv International Technological Fair, the Iranian delegation led by Mr Mohammad Haji Nejat-Hoyseynian, minister of heavy industry of Iran, and the Bulgarian delegation led by Mr Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations, held their final plenary session today.

At the end of the session, the two ministers signed a final protocol on the accords reached. The Economic Bank of Sofia signed an agreement with Idro, a major Iranian engineering organization, and with the Iranian Tejerat bank.

Asked by the BTA correspondent about the prospects of the new forms of cooperation between the two countries, Mr Mohammad Haji Nejat-Hoyseynian answered: "We agreed on several joint projects, the technicalities for which need to be finalized. What is positive at this meeting is the new approach to the construction of such projects. Both countries have capabilities to manufacture trucks and buses. We agreed to unite our efforts so as to meet the two countries' requirements for a new deluxe bus, as well as to export to the international market."

New Decree on Foreign Currency Explained

AU0310103989 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 28 Sep 89 p 2

[Article by Boris Novakov, prosecutor at the Chief Prosecutor's Office: "Control of Foreign Exchange Valuables"]

[Text] Recently the Council of Ministers, under Decree No. 41 of 18 August 1989, published in issue 66 of DURZHAVEN VESTNIK on 25 August 1989, made amendments and additions to the order on border control of foreign exchange valuables. In a letter to the editors, Nina Vartasova of Sofia asks if we would explain what the changes comprise and what the requirements of these new additions are.

Boris Novakov, prosecutor at the Chief Prosecutor's Office, gives the following reply to our reader.

The amendments and additions affect both Bulgarian citizens and foreigners, and are in response to certain economic changes in Bulgaria. Bulgarian citizens may dispose of foreign currency or other foreign exchange valuables that they have imported into Bulgaria and declared as they wish within a 3-day period: They may pay them into a deposit account, export them abroad, present them to the banks for purchase, or use them for purchases in the foreign exchange shops, in which case the value of the purchase is recorded in the customs declaration.

The customs declaration completed by the Bulgarian citizen in respect of the foreign currency and other foreign exchange valuables imported by him is handed over to the traveler, and the detachable slip appended to the declaration is sent to the bank branch at his place of residence.

The above-mentioned four actions may also be carried out within the above 3-day period in cases where the foreign banknotes and other foreign exchange valuables are received by mail or in other consignments from abroad, i.e. imported into Bulgaria by the citizen personally [sentence as published].

The possibility for the Bulgarian citizen to make use of the foreign currency or other foreign exchange valuables that he has received by one of the two methods (by personally importing them into Bulgaria or by receiving them in the mail or in some other consignment from abroad) is specified in the actual Law on Dealing in Foreign Exchange and on Foreign Exchange Control (Article 21). The citizen chooses which of the above-listed four possibilities he wishes to make use of. It is no longer necessary for the Ministry of Planning and Economy to predetermine how the foreign currency and other foreign exchange valuables received in Bulgaria are to be used.

Bulgarian citizens traveling abroad may take with them articles made of precious metals, including articles with precious stones mounted on them, solely for their personal use during their stay abroad, and are obliged to bring the articles back when they return to the People's Republic of Bulgaria. This addition makes it possible for articles made of precious metals with precious stones mounted also to be exported, under the above conditions.

The amount of money that Bulgarian citizens making temporary trips abroad may export and bring back into the country in order to meet their traveling expenses and other needs upon their return was increased from 10 to 50 leva.

The former procedure, as specified in the order on border control of foreign exchange valuables, required foreigners, when they entered the country, to make an oral declaration of the Bulgarian banknotes and coins, gold, silver, platinum, securities, and precious stones they had with them. Foreign banknotes, coins, and checks did not have to be declared. The amendment now requires them also to declare these forms of foreign currency in cases where their value exceeds 1,000 leva. The declaration is made in duplicate in written form and one copy is given to the person concerned, with the requirement for him to present it to the customs authorities when he leaves the country.

Foreign citizens are obliged either to export the foreign exchange valuables imported by them according to the declaration or to present a document certifying their purchase or exchange at the Bulgarian National Bank or an office authorized by the latter.

Any foreign currency that they acquire within the country must also be declared when it is exported from Bulgaria.

The title of the order on border control of foreign exchange valuables was also changed, by striking out the word "border," so that the order is now for control of foreign exchange valuables. This means that the control over foreign exchange valuables according to the order is exercised throughout the country, and not merely at the border.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 22-29 Sep

AU2909173389

[Editorial report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its newscasts, the Sofia press, and Sofia BTA in English during the monitoring period from 1500 GMT on 22 September through 1500 GMT on 29 September report the following public appearances of Bulgarian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Army General Dobri Dzhurov and Dimitur Stoyanov attended a festive meeting in Sofia on 22 September to mark the 45th anniversary of the Bulgarian People's Army. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 22 Sep 89)

Ivan Panev and Dimitur Stoyanov attended a festive gathering in Sofia on 23 September to celebrate the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Dimitrov Young Pioneers organization. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 23 Sep 89)

The following leaders attended a concert in Sofia on 23 September to mark the anniversary of the formation of the Young Pioneers organization: Todor Zhivkov, Dimitur Stoyanov, Ivan Panev, and Yordan Yotov. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 23 Sep 89)

The following leaders attended the opening of the 44th International Technical Fair in Plovdiv on 25 September: Todor Zhivkov, Georgi Atanasov, Petko Danchev, Grisha Filipov, Andrey Lukanov, Stoyan Ovcharov, Grigor Stoichkov, Dimitur Stoyanov, Georgi Yordanov, and Yordan Yotov. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Sep 89 pp 1, 2)

Andrey Lukanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign economic relations, gave a reception in Plovdiv on 25 September to mark the opening of the autumn international fair, which was attended by Georgi Atanasov, Petko Danchev, and Stoyan Ovcharov. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Aug 89 p 1)

Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) and chairman of the State Council, received in Sofia on 20 September the departing Libyan ambassador, 'Umar Muftah Dallal. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 21 Sep 89 p 1) In Varna on 27 September he received Aleksandr Yakovlev, Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. (Sofia BTA in English 1841 GMT 27 Sep 89) On 28 September Zhivkov received Ion Stoian, candidate member of the Politcal Executive Committee and secretary of the Romanian Communist Party. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 28 Sep 89) In Varna, on the same day, Zhivkov received the leaders of the delegations to the conference of international affairs secretaries of party central committees of the socialist countries. (Sofia BTA in English 1729 GMT 28 Sep 89)

Georgi Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Massami Tanida, the departing Japanese ambassador, in Sofia on 22 September. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 22 Sep 89)

Milko Balev, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, made a speech in Varna on 26 September at the opening of the conference of international affairs secretaries from central committees of the parties of socialist countries. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 26 Sep 89)

Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, received in Sofia a delegation from the PRC People's Liberation Army (PLA) led by Guo Linxiang, deputy chief of the PLA Main Political Administration, which left Bulgaria on 23 September. (Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 25 Sep 89 pp 1, 4)

Pencho Kubadinski, member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council, attended a festive anniversary meeting of the Dimitrov Young Pioneers' organization at the pioneer center in Yastrebino, Razgrad Oblast, on 22 September. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 22 Sep 89)

Petur Mladenov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign affairs, met with Netherlands Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek in New York on 27 September. (Sofia BTA in English 1119 GMT 27 Sep 89) In New York on 28 September Mladenov met the Iranian, Romanian, and Indonesian foreign ministers. (Sofia BTA in English 1717 GMT 28 Sep 89)

Petko Danchev, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, received on 27 September a group of scientists participating in a seminar on computerized integrated production systems being held in Botevgrad. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 27 Sep 89)

Ivan Panev, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, held talks in Moscow on 26 September with Lev Zaykov, Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow City Party Committee. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 26 Sep 89)

Andrey Lukanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign economic relations, in Plovdiv on 28 September met Shane Korbeci, Albanian minister of foreign trade, and Mohammad Haji Nejat-Hoyseynian, minister of heavy industries of Iran. (Sofia BTA in English 1843 GMT 28 Sep 89)

Georgi Yordanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Mostafa Hashemi Taba, president of the National Olympic Committee of Iran, in Sofia on 25 September. (Sofia BTA in English 1857 GMT 25 Sep 89) In Sofia on 26 September Yordanov received the leaders of the delegations taking part in the 16th Conference of the Balkan Countries' Automobile Associations. (Sofia BTA in English 1802 GMT 26 Sep 89)

GDR Refugees Continue To Mass in FRG Embassy

Further Emigration 'No Solution'

LD0210183689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] A news conference was held today at the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the problem of the GDR citizens who remain without authorization at the FRG Embassy in Prague. Among those at the conference was our editor, Vladimir Baeumel:

[Baeumel] Lubomir Marsik, the acting spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, stressed that from the outset Czechoslovakia had endeavored to create favorable conditions for resolving the problem, while respecting, of course, all the valid bilateral and international agreements. In this context, the Czechoslovak side has paid great attention to the humanitarian aspects of the problem, particularly in respect of medical care and supplies. When I asked him about the current situation at the FRG Embassy in Prague, Lubomir Marsik replied as follows:

[Begin Marsik recording] According to the latest information at our disposal, there are once again several hundred GDR citizens remaining at the West German Embassy. Here it must be said that Czechoslovakia wishes to continue, in the spirit of the Vienna convention on diplomatic relations, to render assistance in ensuring the proper operation of the FRG Embassy in Czechoslovakia. However, an essential condition for this is that the West German side shows understanding and active help. In our view, allowing the entry of further GDR citizens is no solution; instead, methods must be sought which, in the spirit of the convention, would help to resolve the problem by dialogue, as was shown to be the case last time. [end recording]

'Indiscriminate Attacks' Against GDR

LD0210193189 Prague CTK in English 1813 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Prague Oct 2 (CTK)—The departure of several thousand citizens of the German Democratic Republic who were illegally staying in the West German Embassy in Prague created preconditions for the solution of the complicated situation which has arisen lately.

Some right-wing circles in West Germany, particularly the revanchist ones, and part of West German mass media abused this problem for indiscriminate attacks against the GDR just at the time of the 40th anniversary of its existence, as well as against Czechoslovakia. The aim of these attacks is to convince the Western public that our society is inhuman and that the socialist states do not observe the accepted valid international obligations.

The very fact that the problem was solved mainly thanks to the active approach of the Czechoslovak Government and extraordinary understanding of the GDR authorities, i.e. not exclusively thanks to the West German Government as claimed by some West German mass media, uproots these unjust accusations. The action taken by the Czechoslovak Government has been highly appreciated even by the FRG and GDR authorities and some objective Western papers.

It is a question, however, to what extent West Germany itself has complied with and is respecting now international accords and bilateral agreements. The 1961 Vienna convention on diplomatic missions e.g. states that they must not be used in a way incompatiable with their functions and that they have no right to provide asylum. Moreover, West Germany is constantly violating the basic document of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe by refusing to recognize GDR citizenship.

West German authorities have also broken an agreement reached after intensive negotiations with GDR partners in which West Germany has promised among other things to observe the so-called Berlin variant from the beginning of last September saying that after the depature of persons staying in the embassy no other persons will be allowed in.

Representatives of the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry informed Czechoslovak journalists here today that over 600 GDR citizens are again illegally staying inside the West Germany Embassy in Prague. In spite of all efforts of the Czechoslovak and GDR governments, this problem has not been definitively solved.

More Refugees Crowd Into Embassy

LD0210202389 Hamburg DPA in German 1956 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Excerpt] Prague/Hamburg (DPA)—The situation in the Bonn Embassy in Prague is again intensifying dramatically: 2 days after the exit of around 5,700 GDR refugees from the Prague Mission, around 1,300 GDR citizens were again in the compound on Monday evening. According to eyewitnesses the numbers continued to increase in the evening hours.

Observers in Prague reported that hour by hour around 100 GDR citizens were being let through the large wrought-iron gate of the embassy and were being greeted by those present with great applause. [passage omitted]

FRG Urged To Reassess Stand

LD0210223289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Antonin Kostka commentary]

[Text] Antonin Kostka, our foreign political commentator, points in the following commentary at some international aspects of the uncommon action taken by GDR citizens who have sought emigration via West German diplomatic missions:

[Kostka] Irrespective of whether the protagonists of this unusual form of emigration have had political, economic or family reasons, irrespective of whether they have done so after due consideration or under the influence of propaganda-induced attractions of easily obtainable prosperity, nothing can alter the negative impact of this fact on the current international climate. One can of course have different views on the fact itself; one can approach it from various positions, agree with it or reject it. The vast majority of people are inclined to judge it purely from the human viewpoint as a personal drama, with roots having an historical character. Such a viewpoint is entirely understandable. It has, however, the disadvantage of pushing into the background, by its strong emotions, rational aspects clouding the true essence of the matter, which after all is the main reason why the Western propaganda has been focusing almost exclusively precisely on the human aspect of the matter, why it has been employing maximal inventiveness to stress all its humanly moving details. The fact is that there is once again something to be concealed under the guise of humanism, as happened so often in the past.

Thus there is above all the attempt to conceal the fact that such an extensive international action could not have been accomplished without a toilsome organizational initiative. Furthermore, the guise of humanism is to conceal a whole number of gross violations of the international law and international agreements, or at least to provide humane reasons and justifications for such violations. This is being done not only because those have stood in the backstage of the whole action and who have been acting joint participants, including the Bonn government itself, would like to avoid responsibility. This is being done in particular in order to preclude conclusions from being made on the background of these violations, which could cast light on the real essence of certain trends in the current policy by the FRG. Everyone who knows that the granting of assylum at diplomatic missions is at variance with international norms and diplomatic customs cannot understand the willingness with which West German diplomacy assumed the protection of the GDR citizens in any other way than as a demonstrative return to the right arbitrarily assumed by Bonn to represent all Germans and their bizarre theory of the single German citizenship. This is a factual denial of the postwar realities in Europe, including the existence of two German states. This is a violation of valid agreements between both German states, and the tramping underfoot of the spirit and the letter of the Helsinki Final Act. This is therefore an act which has been deliberately calculated to discredit the GDR—with the connection with that country's approaching national holiday being hardly fortuitous—and above all to destabilize the situation in Europe, jeopardize the process of detente and understanding, which of late has assumed such a conspicuous depth.

In this context the growing support for the extremist neonazi movements in the FRG, and the official declaration of the openness of the German question and the more and more frequent demands for the restoration of German unity within prewar borders have asssumed a worrying significance. The return by West German authorities to the application of the principle of a single German citizenship, the renewal of the attempts by Bonn to speak for all Germans is totally unacceptable to our public, and this not merely with regard to our ties of alliance with the GDR but above all because our people have very woeful experiences with such understanding of Germanness. After all, the occuption of our republic was preceded by Hitler's claim to speak for all Germans.

If Bonn does not want to become once again the principal destabalizing factor of the international climate then it is necessary that it reassesses its share and attitude to the actions of organized emigration of GDR citizens via West German diplomatic missions.

Poles Causing 'Tension' at Borders

AU0210123389

[Editorial report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 30 September on pages 1 and 2, under the headline "Where Tourism Ends and Speculation Begins," carries correspondents' reports, totaling 1,000 words, on the "tense situation" at Czechoslovakia's borders with Poland and Austria, caused by Polish tourists. The "complicated situation" at Czechoslovakia's border checkpoints is also the subject of a 500-word CTK report, entitled "On Problems With Polish Tourists," carried by Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 30 September on page 2.

In the RUDE PRAVO roundup of the situation at Czechoslovakia's borders, the North Moravia correspondent reports that trains arriving from Poland at the Petrovice border crossing carry up to three or four times the approved number of passengers, which accounts for a "tense situation" at the border. The tension reportedly "reached its peak" on 27 September at night when Polish tourists without reserved seats "literally overfilled the Polonia express train, occupying not only the passageways, but also sanitary facilities. In protest against being excluded from transportation, they then blocked the rails at the Ziebrzydowice railway station [on the Polish side of the border]. Polonia departed with a delay of 993 minutes. Another express train, R 37 Bathory, was delayed by 840 minutes." The North Moravia correspondent also reports that an agreement has been reached between the Czechoslovak and Polish railroads whereby "Polish railroad, customs, and passport authorities would reduce the number of passengers to numbers guaranteeing the safety of railroad transportation."

RUDE PRAVO's Bratislava correspondent, who reports on the situation at the Petrzalka border checkpoint between the CSSR and Austria, notes that Polish motorists have to wait for 10 to 12 hours at the border, because of "detailed checks" by the Austrian passport and customs authorities. While waiting, the Polish tourists reportedly "pollute the surroundings and sometimes—as happened, for example, on Tuesday, 26 September, when a whole line of vehicles turned on their horns in protest against the long waiting time—disturb the sleep of the residents of Petrzalka." The Austrian authorities' detailed checks are reportedly aimed at "protecting their internal market" because "these 'tourists' transport mostly cigarettes and alcohol, as well as large quantities of bed linen, watches, drilling machines, telescopes, cameras, and various types of other merchandise, which they want to exchange in Austria for convertible currency."

The South Moravia correspondent, who describes the situation at the Mikulov border checkpoint between the CSSR and Austria, notes that the growing number of Polish travelers (who reportedly account for 80 percent of all users of this border crossing) has also complicated the situation at Mikulov: "The tailbacks of cars are getting longer, provocations occur, and gross verbal attacks on the passport and customs officials are no exception. Using sticks and rocks, Polish tourists sometimes even attack the cars of other tourists [non-Polish motorists are processed separately], in an attempt to push them into the roadside ditch. Serious cases, which occur virtually every day, are dealt with by the district administration of the National Security Corps at Breclav. Offenders are expelled from the country back to Poland.

"According to Jaroslav Krontorad, LLD, chief of the passport control department at Mikulov, a case of intentionally blocking the passage of non-Polish vehicles has also occurred. Random checks of vehicles and luggage testify to the mass transport of merchandise for commercial purposes; in the absolute majority of cases, one cannot speak about tourism."

The CTK report carried by Bratislava PRAVDA deals with the situation at Petrovice near Karvina in North Moravia. It notes that the number of railroad passengers using this border crossing has increased from 1,909,131 in the January-August period last year to 2,549,671 in the same period this year, 90 percent of whom were Polish citizens. Although reserved seats are required for all express trains arriving from Poland, the report says, "one railroad car with 80 seats is sometimes occupied by up to 400 passengers." On 8 September, for example, the Bathory express train, which has a capacity of 956 seats, carried almost 3,900 passengers. According to the chief of the Petrovice railroad station, "problems are also caused by the behavior of Polish tourists. Their aggressiveness toward our railroad workers and customs and passport authorities is the rule rather than the exception, to say nothing of the appearance of the track and the platforms after the departure of each express train."

The CTK report also notes that, although the Polish citizens give visits to relatives or transit to Austria or Hungary as the official reason for their journey, the fact that "more than one-half of the sellers at the Ostrava flea market on Sundays are citizens of the Polish People's Republic" reportedly suggests a different actual motive.

Stepan Inteviewed on 30 Sep Budapest Visit

LD3009232889 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 30 Sep 89

[Introduction and Stepan remarks in Czech; correspondent's remarks in Slovak]

[Text] Comrade Miroslav Stepan arrived in Budapest today for a one-day working visit to the Hungarian People's Republic. Shortly after his arrival he opened talks with Mihaly Jasso, member of the Political Executive Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] and first secretary of the Party City Committee in Budapest on whose invitation the visit is taking place. Both representatives exchanged views on the situation in their respective countries and informed each other about preparations for the congresses of both parties. Comrade Miroslav Stepan was also received by Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP. At the end of the visit Comrade Stepan gave an interview to a Czechoslovak Television correspondent.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] Comrade secretary, the Czechoslovak public is informed about the processes which are taking place here in Hungary. Has your meeting with your Budapest counterpart gone in that spirit of deepening such information?

[Stepan] There is no doubt that the speed of the changes not only in Hungary but also in our country and in other socialist countries can vary and this carries within itself a change in information. The situation changes and people are certainly interested in what the situation really is—because this is our southern neighbor—not only because, I would say, of a general political interest but also because we have an interest in having a good southern neighbor here in the future as well. And the reason why political contacts along the party line between Prague and Budapest are of special significance is also because they provide the latest information. [end recording]

Books Imported From Hungary for Hungarian Minority

AU0210180389 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 29 Sep 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "Briefly From Home" column: "Agreement With Hungary"]

[Text] On the basis of an agreement for 1986-90, a meeting, which culminated in the signing of a protocol, took place in Bratislava between representatives of the Slovak Socialist Republic Ministry of Culture and the main departments of the Hungarian Ministry of Culture and Education's publishing houses on the joint publication of books by Hungarian and Czechoslovak publishing houses in 1990. The agreement allows publications from Hungarian publishing houses to be imported, first and foremost to meet the needs of the Hungarian minority in Czechoslovakia, and it allows books from the Madach publishing house to be exported to Hungary.

Daily Criticizes Quayle's Asian Trip

AU0210141189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Sep 89 p 7

[Slavomir Horsky commentary in the "A Note" column: "Which Face is the True One?"]

[Text] Seoul, Tokyo, Manila. The first three stops on the current Asian trip of U.S. Vice President Quayle offer one traditional and one new social phenomenon. The traditions are numerous: The United States has 43,000 troops in South Korea; Japan hosts 50,000 men of the U.S. Army; and the Clark Field and Subic Bay bases in the Philippines are the biggest American military sites outside U.S. territory.

And now the new thing. Doubts are beginning to be cast on the until now unassailable tradition. Also in Asia, the change in relations between East and West is beginning to lead to a different view of security issues, and the U.S. military presence in that region is increasingly begining to be questioned. For the first time since the war in Korea there is an open discussion—also in the U.S. Congress—about the deadline by which the number of U.S. troops on the Korean peninsula should be reduced. From Tokyo, too, voices are increasingly resounding which do not exclude at least limiting the U.S. contingent in Japan. In the Philippines, the validity of the treaty on the lease of the aforentioned bases will expire in August 1991, and with that date approaching the pressure for the Americans' departure from the country has been growing.

Thus, the development in the region in that respect is heading for substantial changes, and Quayle's trip intimates that those in Washington have realized this. "Saving what can be saved" are, thus far, still strong words, but "setting the right direction for changes which cannot be avoided" is probably what it is all about. In addition, the program of the trip is revealing. The vice president's steps in all three countries led predominantly to the U.S. bases. And, so as not to break with the tradition, Quayle also did not abandon its rhetorics. In Seoul he declared that the DPRK continues to be a threat to South Korea; in the Misava base on the Japanese Island of Honshu—according to the NHK television company—he "inspected with enthusiasm" the squadrons of nuclear-capable F-16 fighter bombers. Later on, among other things, he warned the Japanese premier about Soviet military strength, which has "reached the highest level ever in history." In that connection, he called on the Western countries, including Japan, to "manifest vigilance" and not succumb to the impression that one can "relax endeavors for defense."

If we take into consideration the positive turn in the development of the international situation and the changes in Soviet-U.S. relations, similar statements currently sound almost archaic. With the changing atmosphere, the world now hears more constructive words from the White House. And thus, if we assume that the number-two man in the United States is not on a private trip and is not speaking only on his own behalf, one cannot fail to ask: Which face of the Washington administration is the true one?

CSCE Group Seeks Acceleration in Vienna Talks

LD0210224589 Prague CTK in English 1941 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Prague Oct 2 (CTK)—"No doubt, all the CSCE participating states have a political will to arrive at a certain agreement in Vienna in the sphere of conventional armed forces", Czechoslovak Committee for European Security and Cooperation Presidium member Milan Stembera stressed at a press conference here Monday [2 October].

He stated that a positive move achieved at the talks is reflected in considerations on a possible date of signing an agreement on cuts in conventional armed forces and armament in Europe. "I consider real those views taken by some Vienna talks participants according to which this agreement could be signed as early as in the second half of the year 1990", the Czechoslovak official said.

"The Czechoslovak committee, as a representative of non- governmental organizations, is interested in an all-round speed-up of the Vienna talks", Stembera said.

Speaking about the necessity to spread the ideas of the all- European process, he pointed out that the committee has proposed to the Czech and Slovak Ministries of Education, Youth and Physical Training that lessons on the Helsinki Final Act be included in curriculums in the year 1990, the year of the 15th anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Document.

Federal, National Governments Hold Joint Session

LD020132889 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] The members of the federal and the national governments met in Prague today for a joint session. Ivan Knotek, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Cental Committee, was present at the session. Editor Miroslav Dietrich reports:

[Dietrich] It is the first joint session of the three governments in more than 20 years of the federative organization of our republic. Its aim is to prepare a joint course of actions in the preparation of 1990 when our entire economy enters new conditions of management. What has been so far the affair of selected enterprises or industries will become a generally adopted norm, Comrade Ladislav Adamec said. He also noted that as of 1 January 1990 the federal government will not be able to deal with its tasks if it uses the same methods as it always has done. A part of the apparatus relies on the inertia of the ideas about influencing the economic life through political resolutions, orders, and so forth. This must change too.

Then First Deputy Federal Premier Bohumil Urban took the floor. He reviewed the course of restructuring to date and the state of preparations of the enterprises for changing to the new conditions of management.

Report on 29 Sep Presidium Session

AU0210110089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Sep 89 p 1

["Report From A CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Session"]

[Text] Prague—At its meeting on Friday [29 September] the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium became acquainted with the course and results of the friendly working visit made by Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee, to the CSSR on 25 September. The Presidium's point of view on the visit is published separately.

It discussed the state of work on the draft for the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Czech Socialist Republic [SR], and Slovak SR Constitution. It approved further action in preparing this document.

The Presidium made note of a report on the meeting between the secretaries for ideological work of the central committees of the socialist countries' communist and workers parties, which was held in Berlin on 21 and 22 September 1989 and at which there was an exchange of views and experiences from the fulfillment of topical ideological tasks in the construction of socialism and the struggle for peace and disarmament. It expressed its agreement with the course of action adopted by the CPCZ delegation headed by Jan Fojtik, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary. It fully supported the further development of the fraternal countries' cooperation in the ideological sphere, in harmony with the measures adopted and the events planned for the future. In this connection, it stressed the importance of increasing the efficiency of this cooperation on the basis of the creative implementation of Marxism- Leninism and the principles of socialist internationalism.

The Presidium made note of a report on a visit made by a delegation from the CPCZ Central Control and Audit Commission to the Soviet Union where it became acquainted with the activities of the CPSU's united control and audit organs which had been established as an experiment in harmony with the conclusions of the 19th CPSU All- Union Conference.

Knotek Discusses Economy, Restructuring

LD2609095689 Prague Television Service in Czech 2020 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Interview with Ivan Knotek, member of the Presidium and Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, by unidentified interviewer—recorded; date and place not given; questions in Czech, answers in Slovak]

[Text] [Interviewer] Comrade secretary, you have undertaken a whole range of meetings at various workplaces and have also conducted talks abroad. From the information gathered can one form a picture about the current economic situation in Czechoslovakia?

[Knotek] When we assessed the results achieved during the past period one can say that the fulfilment of the tasks set out in the national economic plan confirms that the Czechoslovak economy is developing successfully. During the first half of the year we achieved a 2-percent growth of national income of 1.6 percent as planned. We have achieved a number of positive results in foreign trade. We are pleased with the results achieved by our farmers, who have achieved the harvest of 11 million tonnes of grain. This could create an impression that everything is in the best possible order. On the other hand, we must be very exacting in assessing these results, primarily because they are quantitative results.

But, on the whole, if we compare the Czechoslovak economy with other countries in Europe, we can say that it is a good economy which has all prerequisites to improve further and thus also create good conditions for the life of citizens of our repubic.

[Interviewer] During your meetings at workplaces people were surely not afraid of giving you their critical views. They are not satisfied with everything, especially with the vigor and rapidity of the changes expected to take place in the national economy. What do you say to this?

[Knotek] It is natural that people should react directly to problems which effect them. Such critical judgements have more than one cause, above all because in the process of restructuring we have created scope for such criticism. At the meeting of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee in December 1987 we ourselves assessed the situation in our society and decided to proceed along the path of restructuring the economic mechanism. Therefore, in essence, we intimated that we were not satisfied with the current economic and social development, that we wanted to bring about fundamental changes. It is therefore totally natural that people anticipate such changes in this area. At the same time one has to see that a number of problems are generated above all by the lack of thoroughness in work, by irresponsible attitudes. I have in mind, for instance, the problem of the internal market. A number of problems in this area cause us concern but one has to say frankly that if manufacturers met their obligations toward the internal market, and if trade worked in the right sense of the word we would have far fewer problems on the internal market. We are often getting such abnormal situations; for instance, during the summer there was quite enough fruit and vegetables—

that is in general, but with great differences between individual towns and villages, which is the fault of the distribution system.

[Interviewer] Comrade secretary, people are expecting us to seek specific personal responsibility in these questions and that we should make decisions regardless to merits, position, the past, and such like. Shall we go along this path?

[Knotek] I personally believe that we have already embarked on this path. The question of personal responsibility, holding one to b personally responsible, is inevitable. And this is because every one of us has to be aware of the fact that for all that which he gets in a form of reward or remuneration—he has to give honest work and that at the same time he is responsible to his immediate environment, and concerning functionaries, central organs, to the Central Committee of the party and our entire society. We have no interest in shielding anyone or in creating an environment of anonymity and shielding behind the authority of persons and institutions.

[Interviewer] Should we at all, during the search for necessary changes and their methods of implementation, rely on some analysis of the past period, let us say of the past 40 years?

[Knotek] It is natural that we cannot live without analysis. Therefore, we have carried out a number of analyses by the Czechoslovak and Slovak Academy of Sciences. The State Planning Commission and other central bodies assessed practically the entire 40-year development. The presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee used the results of the analysis when it compared the Czech and Slovak national economies. Now we are working on the very important analysis necessary for being able to put forward the draft of social and economic advancement of our society as a part of the preparation of the 18th Congress of the CPCZ.

I think that something must be said about analysis. Above all, that it must serve the objective assessment of historic and economic development of our society. A number of comrades, whether they are aware of it or not, act upon the assessment of some factors as though nothing has been done in Czechoslovakia, and they influence public opinion. This negation of historic development is very irresponsible, to say the least. It is enough to consider the data in industrial production. It has multiplied 14 times in 40 years. In agriculture it has multiplied more than 2.3 times. At the same time, we have achieved a very important aim set by 16th CPCZ Congress: to become self-sufficient in the production of foodstuffs.

If I consider foreign trade turnover, in 40 years its volume has multiplied more than 18 times. We have built 3.5 million apartments in Czechoslovakia. And there are many other factors which cannot be doubted.

When we assess and analyze developments we have our own ideas about our living standards and how they compare, let us say, with Austria and the FRG. We must say, too, that our development took place in a specific area, and this area was for 40 years within the framework of CEMA, on the one hand; and on the other hand it was discriminated against strongly by the advanced capitalist countries.

Our view today on tackling economic problems, naturally is quite different, above all thanks to the peace policy of the USSR and thanks to the restructuring which has gotten mutual relations and contacts in the sphere of politics and economy under way. New scope is created for economic cooperation. It is necessary to make use of it.

I presume that if we use analysis in this way in the preparation of materials for 18th congress of the CPCZ we do not cast doubt on the work of the Prognositc Unit or other institutes, or the views of individuals who are critical but who still do not forget that they are also patriots, that they belong to the peoples of Czechoslovakia, and that they are sincerely interested in improving socialism in Czechoslovakia.

[Interviewer] The objective knowledge of attained results in the past will naturally reveal where mistakes have been made. A summary of some past mistakes relates to the current structure of our economy. We say that this structure is to change. How shall we tackle this major task?

[Knotek] The structural changes to the national economy in Czechoslovakia and generally, shall not be seen as a fashionable or a political economic trend. It must be openly said, above all, that in the entire process of rstructuring of socialism we have carried out structural changes. Let us take, for example, the issue of industrialization of Czechoslovakia, of individual regions of Slovakia, and also of Moravia and other areas. Or take the collectivization of agriculture. Was this not one of the biggest structural changes in Czechoslovak agriculture? Or let us take changes in the fuel and power industry. Thirty years ago we created the base for nuclear power production. Is that not a structural change? It is true that this question exists today, too, but its demands for specific solution are much more exacting. This is not the first time that the issue of structural changes has been mentioned. It was put forward rather sharply at the 16th Congress, and even more sharply at the 17th congress. It is, however, a pity that structural changes are carried out too slowly in our country. And this is the worst political and economic problem. Therefore, if we speak about structural changes today from the viewpoint of restructuring, we must say clearly that the discussion on structural change has come to an end, that now specific tasks ought to be put forward: economic and technoliogical programs through which structural changes will be carried out.

[Interviewer] Structural changes would, however, have certain consequences. Many people do not conceal that these consequences could be social, too. What shall we do about them?

[Knotek] It must be clearly said that the transfer of people to new professions must be done through retraining, that there will be enough work for everybody, that with regard to long- term prospects we would have to accept gradually that we should have no foreign manpower from abroad but our own manpower will have to be utilized better. In the transitory period we would have to deal with the social problem of people increasingly commuting to work. These are, however, issues which must be dealt with at specific workplaces, at specific enterprises. Nobody, however, needs to be afraid that he would lose his current career.

[Interviewer] Many people have a number of other worries in connection with the economic reform: the possibility of the growth of prices, inflation. What can you say on this?

[Knotek] It is natural that the economic development of our society, and in socialist countries, and around us in capitalist countries, is in constant flux. Concerning some specific questions, for example price relations, we do not hide the fact that in this sphere we have a number of problems which have to be solved. It would not be wise to speak about fixed retail prices, but we have to say that the state will maintain a regulated development of retail prices. We cannot afford, after experiences around us—including in socialist countries—to let the price policy get out of hand. At the same time, we shall guard equally the sphere of wage development. The fact that we create scope for an enterprise to be enterprising does not mean at all that in this sphere there should be [word indistinct]. The principle which we single out in the conditions of socialism is: to everyone according to the quality and quantity of his work. The idea that we are developing, that it is not contributions, in the hitherto dogmatic sense, but, above all, real interest in the resuls of one's own work, is a very firm requirement. In the confrontation of the entire social development, this requirement is unavoidable because we have to keep a watch on all trends toward inflation.

[Interviewer] With the economic reform, state enterprises are getting far more independence but also responsibility. Will they be strong enough in the forthcoming period to guarantee for our national economy a new quality of development, to bring a balanced development?

[Knotek] It has to be said openly that we see the setting up of state enterprises by 1 July as the first step. It is necessary to harmonize the entire national economic organism in order to create conditions for the state enterprise to be able to conduct socialist business enterprise on one hand, and on the other hand for the all- society orders to be met fully. Some questions which complicate our life today—supplier-consumer relations, for example—have to be solved in a new way and we have to learn this. And the unified center and the enterprise sphere have to quite quickly deal with it. Otherwise we will bring chaos into the national economy.

Concerning the unified economic center, it has to create economic conditions and at the same time assist the economic sphere, which has economic conditions, to react in a suitable manner to the center's proposals in respect of social orders. Concerning the enterprise itself, it has, basically, a wide scope in the sphere of choice of structural changes, in the sphere of marketing on home and foreign markets, providing that this corresponds, naturally, to the concept which the united center offers.

Otherwise, if there is no harmony, the case could be, for example, in the sphere of the food processing industry, the food industry would start exporting its products to foreign markets, or the chemical industry could say that it can make a better use of its components on western markets—and I am convinced that this would be the case—but they would be missed at home as components for production. This means that production would collapse both economically and technologically in the national economy, which is why it is necessary to have links, cooperation, coordination, and that we learn how to behave in conditions of the united economic center and in conditions of the enterprise sphere.

[Interviewer] If we do not only want to solve such mattters by strict prohibitions, limitation, and so on, then this means a vast renewal in the work of leading organs. Will we master this quickly?

[Knotek] These are fundamental changes. It is not incidental that our general secretary, Comrade Milos Jakes, stressed that these are revolutionary changes. And we have to say openly that not everything can be done at once. But it would be very unwise if we should cautiously postpone matters, not to solve them, to shelf them. This would be a great mistake in the attitude toward restructuring. It is quite possible that some of our steps will not be the most correct. I do not like to cite authorities; nevertheless, I shall recall Lenin who said that there is no genius who does not make mistakes. It is necessary, however, to recognize this and be able to put things right.

[Interviewer] Comrade secretary, what is you vision of Czechoslovakia's position in the international division of labor? Let us split this—first of all the position of Czechoslovakia in the framework of the socialist countries, that is in the framework of CEMA?

[Knotek] Personally, I believe that it would be very unjust, unfair on CEMA to blame it for problems which exist at present in some socialist countries. CEMA was set up as a (?common) organization and brings a number of positive things. True, the forms, and methods of activity no longer correspond to the present stage, and thus there is a need of restructuring for CEMA, too. This process is at the beginning, basically, and for the future I am firmly convinced that either on the basis of the principle of participation of all countries or a prevailing participation of all countries, we shall get to the construction of a socialist market as a basic condition to create an economic counterbalance to countries of the EEC. On the other hand, some socialist countries undoubtedly are already corperating or establishing cooperation with EEC countries in the framework of bilateral relations. I believe that this form is interesting in any case. But if we want to assert ourselves on Western markets, then we need a joint approach in that sphere both in quantity and quality. And from this point of view the international cooperation of socialist countries is necessary.

[Interviewer] So, there is that question to assert. There is also the need to assert principles of the economic reforms, and there is the problem of a whole range of disproportions in the national economy. What is the role of party work in this entire process?

[Knotek] The seventh session of the CPCZ Central Committee proclaimed restructuring. This proceeded from the initiative of the CPSU Central Committee. We have our own specific features in our concrete conditions which we want to reflect significantly in the process of restructuring. This is on the one hand. On the other hand, it is our duty in our relations to all 15.5 million inhabitants of Czechoslovakia to be the guarantor of restructuring, as this is the only alternative to reinforce socialism in our country, to utilize everything that is positive in the building of socialism in Czechoslovakia, to develop the socialist social system in Czechoslovakia, and thereby create an optimistic outlook for the future. It would be unwise to link the current problems around us, whether in Poland or Hungary or in other countries, with believing that the socialist era is ending. We think that socialism is living through an important era, but it is a young social system and therefore it is necessary that we develop it and enrich it with everything that is new [word indistinct].

[Interviewer] The primary organizations are now meeting for their annual sessions. A number of views and experiences are voiced there. Naturally, it is normal for somebody to speak most about his concerns. Whatever is painful is spoken about, the 31 things which are all right are not mentioned that often. A number of criticisms can be voiced at those annual meetings and this can lead to a pessimistic view. How do we balance it?

[Knotek] Our annual party meetings were always the place for making a balance. This year they are of special importance as it is the year of preparation for the 18th Congress of the CPCZ and at the same time it is also the time when we are taking the first comprehensive step to the restructuring of the economic mechanism from 1 January 1990.

In the presidium and the Secretariat of the party Central Committee we pay special attention to the preparation of annual party meetings. The meeting of the chief secretaries of the regional and district party committees which took place last Friday and Saturday, and the speech of the general secretary showed clearly the role of the annual party meetings as the first step of the entire party not only toward preparation of the congress but above all that in the offensive activity of the party, in the economy and ideology, and in the entire work of the party organization greater advancement is to be achieved toward the specific implementation of tasks at workplaces.

Prior to the annual party meetings, meetings with communists were held. They pointed out many things, and critically assessed many areas. They showed where the primary party organizations should concentrate their attention. In my personal view, it is very important that the primary organizations assessed objectively the work of each organization, that they asessed firmly what is not successful. But they ought to look for solutions. It is impossible to leave everything to the center. This becomes even more obvious in the division of work in the time of restructuring. The center is to do its work, but the work of a primary organization, a district or a regional committee must be carried out at that level. To shift responsibility is now a thing of the past. The specific and exacting need of the time is stressed by the fact that I am fully responsible for what the party has entrusted me with, what proceeds from my working duties. When I do this then I have a real right to speak about others. We would be very glad if annual members' meetings by their critical and challenging character contributed not only to the knowledge that we want to go via the path of restructuring but to a practical implementation of tasks of restructuring, moving us much further ahead.

Other Parties' Broader Involvement in Society Viewed

AU2609234789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Sep 89 p 3

[CTK report: "On Activating the National Front"]

[Text] Prague—A working meeting involving Karel Urbanek, chairman of the Czech Socialist Republic [SR] National Front Central Committee, Bohuslav Kucera, chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, and Zbynek Zalman, chairman of the Czechoslovak People's Party, took place in the Czech SR National Front Central Committee building in Prague on Thursday [21 September].

The substance of the proceedings was issues regarding the activation of the National Front while fulfilling the tasks of the restructuring and democratization of society. Possibilities for the further development of cooperation between the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] and the other political parties in the National Front, cooperation based on the principles of mutual respect, on support for their independence, on respect for their knowledge acquired from working with people, and on the common search for starting points to resolve contemporary problems were also considered. K. Urbanek emphasized that the CPCZ adopts the same attitude toward the other political parties as it does toward its allies and equal and independent entities in the creation, implementation, and control of National Front policy.

In connection with the preparations for elections to the representative bodies, the meeting's participants pointed to the expediency of making greater use of stimuli from the non-communist parties and, in accordance with their authority in individual localities, naming a greater number of their members as candidates for deputies' seats and for the posts of deputy chairmen of regional and district national committees, the chairmen of commissions, or the chairmen of city and local national committees. Questions encompassing the broader involvement of Czechoslovak Socialist Party and Czechoslovak People's Party members in leading functions in state organs, enterprises, collectives, services, business transactions, in health care, social, and cultural establishments, in research and development workplaces, and in other institutions were also a topic of discussion.

Leaders' Appearances for 21-27 Sep

AU0110155189

[Editorial report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech, Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech, Prague PRACE in Czech, and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak from 22 to 28 September report the following appearances of CSSR leaders (sourcelines given in parentheses):

Milos Jakes, in the presence of Miroslav Stepan, received Guenther Schabowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, in Prague on 21 September. (RUDE PRAVO 22 Sep 89 p 1)

Milos Jakes, accompanied by Jan Fojtik, Frantisek Hanus, Karel Hoffmann, Ivan Knotek, Jozef Lenart, Miroslav Stepan, Karel Urbanek, and Miroslav Zajic, welcomed Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee, on his arrival in Prague on 25 September. (RUDE PRAVO 26 Sep 89 p 1)

Milos Jakes, in the presence of Karel Hoffmann, received the leaders of the other political parties in Prague on 27 September. (PRAVDA 28 Sep 89 p 1)

Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ) Central Committee, presented the Order of Labor to Vaclav Holub, a CPCZ Central Committee employee, in Prague on 21 September. (RUDE PRAVO 22 Sep 89 p 2) He chaired a session of the CSSR National Front Central Committee Presidium, in Prague on 27 September. (RUDE PRAVO 28 Sep 89 p 1)

Ladislav Adamec, CSSR premier, received Woldimierz Mokrzyszczak, Polish ambassador to the CSSR, in Prague on 27 September. (RUDE PRAVO 28 Sep 89 p 1)

Frantisek Hanus, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, attended a session of the West Slovak regional party committee on scientific- technical development and visited the Mochovce nuclear power plant on 26 September. (RUDE PRAVO 27 Sep 89 p 2) He visited the Tesla factory in Vrable and the Calex factory in Zlate Moravce on 27 September. (PRAVDA 28 Sep 89 p 2)

Pavel Hrivnak, Slovak Socialist Republic premier, was present when the newly appointed Archbishop of Trnava and Bishop of Spis took their oath of allegiance to the Republic, in Bratislava on 26 September. (RUDE PRAVO 27 Sep 89 p 2)

Alois Indra, chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, received Vaclav Vaclavik, the North Moravian party chief, on the occasion of his 60th birthday, in Prague on 25 September. (RUDE PRAVO 26 Sep 89 p 2)

Ignac Janak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee, received George Homostean, Romanian ambassador to the CSSR, in Bratislava on 26 September. (RUDE PRAVO 27 Sep 89 p 2) He received the leadership of the Slovak Scientific and Technical Society, in Bratislava on 27 September. (PRAVDA 28 Sep 89 p 2)

Ivan Knotek, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, attended an aktiv of the State Commission for Scientific- Technical and Investment Development, in Prague on 25 September. (RUDE PRAVO 26 Sep 89 p 2) He attended a session of the Central Slovak regional party committee in Banska Bystrica on 26 September. (RUDE PRAVO 27 Sep 89 p 2) He was present at a ceremonial session marking the 40th anniversary of the founding of the PRC, in Prague on 27 September. (PRAVDA 28 Sep 89 pp 1,2)

Jozef Lenart, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, received the 11-member Canadian parliamentary delegation, the Canada-Europe Association, in Prague on 21 September. (RUDE PRAVO 22 Sep 89 p 2) He visited the Slusovice agricultural cooperative on 24 September. (RUDE PRAVO 25 Sep 89 p 2)

Miroslav Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, attended the opening of a new railway tunnel in Prague on 22 September. (RUDE PRAVO 23 Sep 89 p 2) He presented a congratulatory letter to Jiri Purs, the former director of Czechoslovak Film, in Prague on 21 September. (VECERNI PRAHA 21 Sep 89 p 3) He presented the Order of Victorious February to Jaroslav Hlavac, secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, in Prague on 26 September. (RUDE PRAVO 27 Sep 89 p 2) He received Boris Fomin, director general of Energomash Leningrad, in Prague on 27 September. (PRAVDA 28 Sep 89 p 2)

Karel Urbanek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Czech Socialist Republic National Front Central Committee, received the chairmen of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party and the Czechoslovak People's Party, in Prague on 21 September. (RUDE PRAVO 22 Sep 89 p 3) He met with the leadership of the Czech Journalists' union in Prague on 27 September. (RUDE PRAVO 28 Sep 89 p 2)

Miroslav Zajic, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, presented the Order of Labor to Julius Pauke, head of a CPCZ Central Committee department, in Prague on 21 September. (RUDE PRAVO 22 Sep 89 p 2) He addressed a South Moravian regional party committee session on scientific-technical development, in Brno on 27 September. (RUDE PRAVO 28 Sep 89 p 2)

Miroslav Zavadil, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, attended a meeting of trade union workers in the building industry, in Prague on 21 September. (RUDE PRAVO 22 Sep 89 p 2) He made a speech at the national conference of the chairman of regional and district trade union councils, in Prague on 22 September. (PRACE 23 Sep 89 p 1) He received representatives of the socialist countries' trade unions in Prague on 22 September. (PRACE 23 Sep 89 p 1) He made a speech on the concluding day of the national conference of the chairman of regional and district trade union councils, in Prague on 23 September. (RUDE PRAVO 25 Sep 89 p 2) He received trade union journalists for a discussion in Prague on 27 September. (RUDE PRAVO 28 Sep 89 p 1)

CSSR Travel Halted, FRG 'Provocations' Cited

LD0310133689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1322 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—According to reports available to the GDR, certain circles in the FRG are preparing further provocations on the 40th anniversary of the GDR, which are directed against calm and order.

After consulting with the CSSR, it was agreed to temporarily suspend, effective immediately, passport-free and visa-free traffic between the GDR and the CSSR for the citizens of the GDR.

Officials Criticize FRG's Position on Refugees

AU0210133789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Sep 89 p 2

["W.M." editorial: "No Error Concerning Facts"]

[Text] Only 1 day after USSR Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, in his speech to the United Nations, had warned against the danger that revanchism posed for peace, the FRG has again furnished proof of the seriousness of the warning: The supreme chief of the revanchists, Czaja, a member of the Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union Bundestag group, launched a sharp attack on those who recognize the Oder-Neisse border as final "to the detriment of Germany." Ignoring all documents that are valid under international law, which have also been signed by FRG chancellors, the president of the so-called Refugees Association claims that "Germany" continues to exist "within the borders of 1937." The FRG does not claim Polish territory beyond that.

The escalation of revanchism in the FRG is linked with the zeal of politicians from other parties to outdo each other in churning out pan-Germanic phrases while at the same time playing down the danger that the increase in neo-Nazism poses in the FRG. The Otto-Suhr Institute in Berlin (West) has presented a study which demonstrates that the neo-Nazis disguised as "Republicans" are much more dangerous than the so-called NPD [National Democratic Party of Germany] in the sixties. The brown pied-pipers succeeded in capturing a considerable number of votes from the Christian-Democratic but also from the social democratic pools of voters. Their chauvinist demagogy was very successful with the young, whom they incited to act aggressively against everything that is foreign—fully in the spirit of a "Germany within the boundaries of 1937."

The case of judge Weiss is symptomatic of the militant tendency toward the right. He had a plaque commemorating the victims of the former Reich court- martial removed and reduced to small pieces. The proceedings instituted against him were dropped by the public prosecutor this week on grounds that he was the victim of "an error concerning the facts." There is a series of "errors concerning the facts"—from the acquittal of Thaelmann's murderer to the mass imposition of fines on those who demonstrate against nuclear missiles and chemical weapons depots, and to attacks by the police on antifascists who protest against the activities of the neo-Nazis.

Thus, there is no "error concerning the facts" involved if one uses the following phrase from Brecht on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the FRG: The womb from which this emanated is still fertile. The peoples of Europe who need peace and security are concerned about the spread of neo-Nazism and revanchism from there.

Dohlus on 'Hate' Campaign

AU0310090789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Sep 89 p 3

[Report by Christa Drechsel, Gerd-Uwe Fritsch: "Economic Strategy Is the Foundation of the Future"]

[Excerpts] The workers at the Fuerstenwalde Tire Works had reason to celebrate: First, their economically important investment project, the hot-drawing plant for polyamide cord was put into operation 3 months ahead of schedule. Second, Horst Dohlus member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], awarded a honorary banner to the working people of the tire works for their outstanding achievements in socialist competition. [passage omitted]

During a meeting in the new hall of the works, Horst Dohlus conveyed greetings and thanks from SED Central Committee General Secretary Erich Honecker to the working people in the parent enterprise of the tire combine, of the Construction and Assembly Combine East, the Industrial Construction Combine in Fuerstenwalde, of the VEB Special Assemblies in Weimar, and other combines involved in the completion of the project on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the GDR. [passage omitted]

The SED is firmly resolved to continue the course of the unity of economic and social policy, the path of socialism in the interest of the people in close cooperation with all working people, Dohlus stressed. The enemies of socialism, who have started another aggressive campaign, particularly in the FRG, will not succeed in preventing this. It is not a mere coincidence that FRG officials and FRG media are launching a campaign against our worker-peasant state that is full of hatred, that they pour poison and dirt over everything that the workers class and their allies have created, particularly at a time when we are celebrating the 40th anniversary of the GDR, Host Dohlus pointed out. "Those ruling forces in the FRG with their media and other accomplices, who noisily recommend reforms of socialism to us, who openly call for changes of the borders, who violate international law by interfering in other countries' internal affairs and organize man trade under the infamous slogan 'Home to the Reich,' have only one goal—to completely eliminate the first worker-peasant state and socialism." However, they will not succeed. Forty years of successful socialist construction work in the

GDR will prevent this. Our firm and stable worker-peasant power will not allow this. Deeds for a strong socialism, such as those accomplished by the workers of the Fuerstenwalde Tire works, the construction workers, the foremen, engineers, state managers, and all other colleagues will also prevent this. [passage omitted]

Herrmann Condemns West

AU0310101589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Sep 89 p 3

[Report by Christa Pehlivanian and Otto Luck: "Nothing and Nobody Will Divert Us from the Path of Socialism"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Joachim Herrmann, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], awarded an honorary banner to the collective of the Leipzig Wool Combing Works on Thursday afternoon [28 September]. It was welcomed with the same pleasure as the cordial greetings and congratulations from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council. [Passage omitted]

Herrrmann referred to efforts made by the opponents of socialism since the founding of the GDR to eliminate the first worker-peasant state on German soil. However, they have not achieved their goal, and they will not achieve it in the future, despite the fact that certain circles in the West are currently unleashing a true propaganda campaign against the GDR and openly call for the restoration of the "German Reich within the boundaries of 1937," he pointed out. [passage omitted]

Sindermann Hits FRG 'Neo-Nazis'

AU0210174689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Sep 89 p 3

[Report by Manfred Jaeger, Uwe Stemmler: "On the Presentation of Honorary Banners and the Startup of New Facilities: Now More Than Ever Before—We Strengthen the Republic With New Deeds"]

[Excerpts] Horst Sindermann, president of the GDR People's Chamber, had visited the Agrochemical Combine in Piesteritz about 1 year ago. Working people in the chemical enterprise recalled his visit in talks with the People's Chamber president in Wittenberg on Thursday [28 September]. At the time they had discussed how the combine, which today produces two-thirds of the GDR's nitrogen and 90 percent of the GDR's phosphor fertilizers, can face up to the challenges of the eighties. They all agreed that comprehensive intensification, linked with the efficient application of key technologies, is the right way. [passage omitted]

Horst Sindermann, who conveyed greetings from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], praised the achievements of the chemical workers in intensification. "You are realizing two projects at the parent enterprise of the combine that are characteristic of the course aimed at continuing the dynamic economic growth: the use of the microcomputer to optimize carbide furnaces two and three and the intensification of the ammonia plant." Thus, production and science are successfully linked for the well-being of the working people. Such results prove that the policy of the Eighth SED Congress is being continued and that socialism is flourishing.

The Old Power of Capitalism Has Been Boldly Destroyed

Such facts are confusing for the politicians within and outside the Bonn government who want to revise the results of World War II and who advocate the German Reich as it existed within the boundaries of 1937. Leading Social Democrats also sing the same tune. "They say that we are not carrying out reforms, whatever this means. However, from a historic point of view, it is the FRG that has to carry out reforms now: reforms that deprive neo-Nazis of the air they breath and that shut the mouths of those who spread pan-Germanic views," Horst Sindermann pointed out, and stressing that the old power structures of the capital were boldly slashed in the GDR. However, not all ideas and desires have been realized in everyday life, he stated.

Subsequently Horst Sindermann presented a honorary banner to the chemical workers. Operator Gerhard Wetzel conveyed thanks on behalf those decorated. [passage omitted]

Stoph: International Law Broken

LD0210213589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1753 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Dresden (ADN)—The continuous all-round fulfillment of the plan and top scientific-technological achievements this year were a convincing expression of the self-realization of workers, researchers, constructors, and technologists under socialist conditions of production. The achievements showed how GDR economic strategy is being implemented by means of the strength, the industry and the skill of the workers, SED Politburo member Willi Stoph said today at a meeting in the Mikromat factory in Dresden.

The GDR premier had earlier opened the test run of a flexible, computer-guided production system "FMS 2,500" for the processing of heavy metal castings up to 4 tonnes for high-precision machines, and had also presented the factory with a banner of honor.

Mikromat Dresden is a clear example of everything that the GDR economy can achieve in the struggle for top international achievements, Stoph said. One significant experience of the work of the factory is that such results can be achieved when there is a clear strategy, when experienced and younger workers cooperate together in close coodinated work and each one fully discharges the responsibility he is given.

"The anniversary of the republic especially is an occasion to talk about such attitudes and the results thus brought about. For us there is no reason not to esteem our achievements. On the contrary. If we look back at the road behind us, then we can say: Under the leadership of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party, the GDR has become a modern socialist state which has a powerful industry and agriculture, in which there is a high level of education, science and culture, in which varied measures ensure social security for every citizen," the GDR premier said.

"We can be justifiably proud of these achievements, and we will never allow them to be discredited, not by anybody," the speaker said. "Of course we know there is still a lot to be done to make our socialist society even more perfect and attractive. Many an obstacle in our path has already been removed, and many a stumbling block must still be removed. We can and will do this alone, and all our citizens can help in this," Stoph said.

In the present situation the imperialist and revanchist forces have been intensifying their campaign of slander, which is filled with deep hatred of the GDR, Stoph went on to say. "It always was and is still directed at the subversion and eventual removal of the socialist state and social order. As the infamous claim to sole representation is resurrected, the FRG violates internationa law by practicing a so-called duty of care for GDR citizens, to get them to leave their homes and betray their fatherland. We most strongly reject such practices, which violate international law and the concluded and valid treaties between the GDR and the FRG," Stoph said.

In the joint communique on the FRG visit by Erich Honecker in September 1987, both sides affirmed their intention to respect the independence and separateness of the other state in its internal and external affairs in the spirit of the Basic Treaty, and to be guided by a desire for understanding and by realism. "Those who have political responsibility in Bonn must also adhere to this if what has been achieved in recent years in the process of detente and cooperation is not to be endangered."

On the same day other members of the GDR party and state leadership recognized factories' outstanding achievements by awarding banners of honor or attended the handing over of important investment projects in the economy.

FRG Minister Receives Protest Over Refugees

LD0210170789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1533 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—Ambassador Horst Newbauer, head of the GDR permanent mission in the FRG, today lodged a resolute protest during talks with Rudolf Seiters, federal minister for special tasks and head of the FRG Federal Chancellors Office, against the fact that arrangements and agreements in connection with the expulsion of former GDR citizens from the FRG embassies in Prague and Warsaw have not been kept by the FRG. He emphatically rejected the deliberate false reports on the course of actions taken on 30 September/1 October as being circulated by responsible FRG politicians.

Ambassador Neubauer pointed out that it was a case of a unilateral decision by the GDR, which was made exclusively for humanitarian reasons, primarily in the interests of small children. This decision was communicated to Federal Minister Seiters on the morning of 30 September by Ambassador Horst Neubauer, head of the GDR Permanent Mission in the FRG, on behalf of the GDR Government. If the FRG foreign minister, Genscher, who was present at this meeting, now claims the "fame" of having pushed through the known settlement by means of intense negotiations in New York and elsewhere, this is simply not true.

It was pointed out in the talks with Federal Minister Seiters that the GDR assumes that consequences for the normal operation, corresponding to international custom, of its embassies in Prague and Warsaw would be drawn by the FRG Government. There was a corresponding agreement on this. This was also not kept by the FRG side. Ambassador Neubauer pointed out to Federal Minister Seiters that this is viewed by the GDR as a gross breach of trust. He demanded emphatically that the GDR citizens now in the FRG embassies in Prague and Warsaw be expelled from the embassies, and that they return to the GDR, where they may present their views and where decisions can be made concerning the relevant known assurances. [as received]

Ambassador Neubauer stressed that rational solutions—even for difficult questions—can only be found in mutual trust and mutual reliability. Efforts to misuse humanitarian solutions for political demonstrations and media spectacles block the path to objective cooperation.

Youth Paper Considers Reasons for Leaving

LD3009114489 Hamburg DPA in German 1051 GMT 30 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—In today's edition of the GDR youth organ JUNGE WELT, the problems of young people in the GDR with the state are addressed in an unusually open form. "We must depart from the formal", says an article in which former colleagues of a GDR citizen who fled to the Federal Republic via Hungary publicly consider her reasons for leaving the Republic.

Thus the FDJ [Free German Youth] members' meetings should not only be "the passing on of information" from the leadership. The FDJ study year "on occasions has worked quite well as long as we discussed what really moved us. It was fun and people enjoyed coming. But as soon as we were oriented toward the set topics and added nothing of our own then it was only a matter of getting one's name ticked off on the attendance list," the article says. The woman, whose name is given as Dagmar Boening, sees one reason in laziness and convenience. "That can also be seen in the fact that no one is prepared to get involved in our new FDJ Executive."

The name of the woman who fled to the Federal Republic via Hungary is given as Birgit Karin Mueller. Her departure is regretted by her former colleagues. Birgit has left a gap. A reason cited for her fleeing is that Birgit wanted to "live."

The supply and accommodation problems are openly addressed as well as non-conformist behavior as defined by the ruling social order in the GDR and the bureaucracy of the authorities in the GDR. A case is cited in which a colleague was proposed for an honor. "It was rejected because he allegedly had no social commitment. But that is not true. Joerg is a Christian and cares for young people 2 or 3 days a week."

Lawyer Seeks Release of Detained Escapees

LD0210140389 Hamburg DPA in German
1215 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—The Rostock lawyer Wolfgang Schnur has announced that he will apply formally to the GDR justice authorities for the release of all his clients who are either in prison or custody for attempted escape. According to his own words he intends to address an appeal to the Council of Ministers for the release of others who are imprisoned for the same reason. Schmur emphasized in East Berlin on Monday that the state decision to allow the embassy refugees to depart is creating "shock and loss of credibility" among GDR citizens.

Certainly the law and the principle of equality has been abandoned when some were allowed to depart from the embassies for the West, while others were imprisoned when they attempted to escape across the border. "No lawyer who wants to maintain his credibility can be silent," emphasized Schnur, who expects support from other GDR lawyers. He is seeking to achieve for his clients "suspension of sentence and stay of proceedings."

Other representatives of the [Democratic] "Departure" and initiators of the "New Forum" have expressed similar sentiments to Schnur, who is involved with the new political grouping "Democratic Departure." Church representatives, too, are making the criticism that following the existing approval given by the GDR leadership for the embassy refugees, there is now total uncertainty in the law of the country.

Church groups and civil rights campaigners are calling for the abolition of paragraph 213, [of the penal code] "Illegal Crossing of Frontiers." Serious cases are punished with imprisonment of up to 8 years. Paragraph 219, "Illegal Taking Up of Contacts," and paragraph 220, "public disparagement," should be abolished.

Leipzig Demonstrators Demand Democratic Reforms

LD0[illegible] Hamburg DPA in German
1944 [illegible] Oct 89

[Text] East Berlin/Leipzig (DPA)—About 10,000 people this evening called for democratic renewal, freedom of opinion and reforms in the GDR in Leipzig city center. The crowd chanted demands for the registration of the opposition group "New Forum," and proclaimed they were staying in the country and that they wanted to work for improvements here. "We're staying here," "We're staying here", was shouted again and again.

The people marched from Nicolai Church through the city center toward the main station, eyewitnesses reported. Many estimated the number of demonstrators at well over 10,000. In any case, it was the "biggest demonstration" of this kind, it was stressed.

As in the previous week, when 5,000-8,000 demonstrated, security forces and police were restrained at the start of the protest march. They were positioned a few streets behind the main station. The demonstrators stopped at the police cordons and then most of them went home. Some talked with the policemen, it was reported. No arrests were witnessed.

More than 2,000 people were in the overcrowded Nicolai Church, while approximately another 3,000-4,000 waited nearby. The protest march constantly swelled. There were also calls of "liberty, equality, fraternity", the "Internationale" was sung, and there were chants of "Gorby, Gorby."

During the traditional peace prayer in Nicolai Church, there were also demands for the release of the church workers and civil rights activists arrested the previous week.

This afternoon, a vigil began at Gethsemane Church in East Berlin, aimed at reminding people of the detention of about 30 civil rights activists and demonstrators in the GDR, and to demand their release. One of the first to take part was former SED official Rolf Henrich, one of the co-founders of the citizens' action group "New Forum."

The police and security forces held several dozen people, and several correspondents were once again hindered in their work. They were forbidden to go in the direction of the church. Security forces said that the reason for the cordons were "police actions." Church groups and participants in a prayer meeting in the evening demanded "release of the detainees, no explusion of those involved against their will, an end to investigative proceedings, and the lifting of all fines and sentences to imprisonment."

'New Forum' Leader Says Exodus No Solution

LD0210233589 Hamburg DPA in German
2254 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] East Berlin/Leipzig (DPA)—Baerbel Bohley, a cofounder of the "New Forum," has described the mass demonstrations in Leipzig and the shouts of the people that they want to stay in the GDR, as a new dimension. In a telephone interview with ARD [First German TV] "Tagesthemen" she also said this evening that she did not believe that there will be a union of the various opposition groups in the GDR. The individual groups have different goals. The common ground is that they all want to change something and are making the same demands.

Frau Bohley reaffirmed her view that the flight by GDR citizens via Federal German embassies is no political solution. She understands it when GDR citizens seek such a way, but this will not lead to the introduction of any reforms in the GDR.

FRG's Spaeth Receives Dresden Official

AU0310121989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Sep 89 p 7

[ADN report: "Minister President of Baden-Wuerttemberg Receives SED Delegation"]

[Text] Stuttgart—The Minister President of Baden-Wuerttemberg, Lothar Sparth (Christian Democratic Union) received a delegation of the Dresden Bezirk leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], which is headed by Hans Modrow, first secretary of the Dresden SED Bezirk leadership and member of the SED Central Committee, and which is in Stuttgart at the invitation of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, for a talk at his official residence on Thursday [28 September]. Subsequently, both politicians told journalists that they had conducted a useful, open, and good exchange of experiences, during which all topical issues were discussed. Spaeth stressed that normal relations between the two German states are important. He mentioned the fact that these relations are based on a number of agreements that have been concluded. Economic and cultural cooperation between the two states will also be continued on this basis.

The meeting was attended by head of the Permanent GDR Mission in the FRG, Ambassador Horst Neubauer.

Honecker May Receive Treatment in Switzerland

LD0310103889 Bern International Service in English 1000 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] The Swiss Foreign Ministry says it's unable to comment on reports that the East German leader Erich Honecker is to come to Switzerland for medical treatment. The Zurich-based newspaper BLICK said that Mr Honecker would be travelling to Switzerland after celebrations this week marking the 40th anniversary of the founding of the East German state. A Foreign Ministry spokesman told Swiss Radio International that he could neither confirm nor deny the report, which was based on information from Western secret services. It said that if Mr Honecker did come to Switzerland the visit would be of a private nature and that the Swiss Foreign Ministry would not be in a position to comment. The East German Embassy in Bern said it would make no comment on the report. Mr Honecker, who is 77, underwent a gall bladder operation in August and reports have suggested that the East German leader is seriously ill.

Fischer Meets With UN Secretary General

AU0310101189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Sep 89 p 1

[ADN report: "Meeting Between GDR Foreign Minister and UN Secretary General"]

[Excerpt] New York—UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar and GDR Minister of Foreign Affairs Oskar Fischer met for a friendly exchange of views at the UN headquarters in New York on Wednesday [27 September]. Their talk focused on issues concerning the work of the 44th UN General Assembly and international developments that are reflected in the work of the United Nations. Perez de Cuellar expressed thanks for the greetings conveyed by Oskar Fischer from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the GDR State Council, and for his own part asked the GDR foreign minister to convey cordial greetings and best wishes to the supreme representative of the GDR.

Both politicians expressed the hope that the 44th UN General Assembly will be marked by the willingness for increased international cooperation in the search for peaceful and efficient solutions to the global problems of mankind. They expressed the desire that the world organization be supported by everybody in its work for detente and disarmament, to overcome underdevelopment, and to safeguard the ecological foundations of life. [Passage omitted]

CSSR Military Banners Awarded to Combat Units

AU0210143089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Sep 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Banner of the CSSR People's Militia for Combat Units"]

[Text] Weissenfels—The "Fritz Juch" and "Fritz Gerasch" combat units of Weissenfels Kreis were awarded the honorary banner of the CSSR People's Militia on Thursday [28 September] on the occasion of a parade marking the 40th anniversary of the GDR. The chief of the Main Staff of the People's Militia, Miroslav Novak, presented the banner together with a delegation of the armed worker's militia from the fraternal country. The banner donated by the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party is traditionally awarded to a meritorious collective of fighters, noncommissioned officers, and commanders of the worker's militia for the duration of 1 year.

The impressive ceremony, which ended with a march past of 1,700 fighters, was watched by thousands of working people in Karl-Marx-Square. They welcomed Hans-Joachim Boehme, member of the Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Halle Bezirk leadership of the Unity Party of Germany [SED]; Wolfgang Herger, director of the Security Department of the

SED Central Committee; and Lieutenant General Karl-Heinz Schmalfuss, deputy interior minister; as well as CSSR Ambassador Frantisek Langer.

In an address, Hans-Joachim Boehme conveyed most cordial greetings from the SED Central Committee and its general secretary, Erich Honecker. The speaker pointed out the armed workers class is reliably protecting at all times what has been created and achieved during the past 4 decades. The CSSR honorary banner is a shining symbol of the side-by-side struggle of the workers class of the GDR and CSSR, their Marxist-Leninist parties, and their armed units in building socialism and in defending their achievements.

Nobody will be allowed to shake the power of the people. The SED is using the weeks and months prior to the 12th SED Congress to involve everybody in its activities in order to make socialism even more attractive and worth living in.

Miroslav Novak paid tribute to the longstanding firm friendship and the constant exchange of experiences between the combat squadrons from Weissenfels and the People's Militia. The tasks in socialist competition have been solved in an exemplary manner at the workplaces and in training.

Guenter Hanke, fighter in the "Fritz Gerasch" squadron, conveyed thanks for the high award. He and his fellow fighters will always act as proletarian internationalists. A greetings message to Erich Honecker was adopted by the participants in the meeting amid applause.

Stoph Decorates Enterprise Collectives

AU0210122389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Sep 89 p 1

[ND report: "High Awards for Exemplary Achievements of Collectives"]

[Text] East Berlin—A total of 15 enterprise collectives received awards in Berlin on Thursday [28 September] for exemplary achievements in socialist competition, in comprehensively strengthening the GDR, and in implementing the resolutions of the 11th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] that are aimed at the well-being of the people and the safeguarding of peace. Upon the decision of the Council of Ministers and according to the National Executive Council of the Free German Trade Union Federation [FDGB], they were awarded the honorary title "Enterprise of Socialist Work" on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the GDR.

Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, handed over the documents to the representatives of the meritorious enterprises. The ceremony was attended by Horst Heintze, member of the Presidium and secretary of the FDGB National Executive Council, as well as to members of the Council of Ministers and other figures.

Willi Stoph conveyed most cordial greetings and congratulations from the SED Central Committee and its general secretary, Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council. He paid tribute to the exemplary results that the working people in the decorated enterprises have achieved in the fast application of scientific-technological findings, in fulfilling the production and export tasks, and in improving domestic supply. All these accomplishments are an important contribution to implementing the policy of our worker-peasant state aimed at the well-being of the people and the safeguarding of peace. The indestructible fraternal ties with the USSR are a reliable guarantee for the successful solution of the current tasks.

In further preparing for the 12th SED Congress, it is important to make all driving forces and advantages of socialism even more effective, the chairman of the Council of Ministers stressed. "It is particularly important to increase the achievements in every enterprise and combine, to accelerate the speed of intensification, and to continue to tangibly increase labor productivity." Everyday life in our country is characterized by the housing program, stable prices for basic consumer goods, for rents and rates, a high level of education among all children of the people, as well as reliable health protection. Thus, basic human rights are being implemented on the basis of the unity of social and economic policy.

The secure basis of our economic development continues to be the socialist ownership of production means, Willi Stoph pointed out.

No advice, no matter how shrewdly disguised, will prompt the GDR to touch the state-owned enterprises and cooperatives. The GDR will never carry out such so-called reforms, because the exploitation of man by man has been abolished for good in the GDR.

Willy Stoph emphasized that nothing develops by itself in socialism. Dedicated and creative work are required. The extent of and the struggle for further progress in all social spheres are determined by how the party organization observes its leadership role, how every manager assumes his responsibility, and how the trade union represents the interests of its members in every enterprise. Every workplace is responsible for increasing public property and for making efficient use of it, the chairman of the Council of Ministers stated. This means that products that are required by the national economy and the population must be produced to an increased extent, that the most modern technologies must be applied, and that the costs must be reduced considerably in order to make a sizable contribution to earning the national income.

Winfried Doering, works manager of the VEB Washing Devices in Schwarzenberg, conveyed thanks for the high awards on behalf of those decorated. The awards are considered an obligation and an incentive to achieve higher economic growth in preparation for the 12th SED Congress, he pointed out.

Mielke Presents Awards to Security Organs

AU0210173889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Sep 89 p 4

[Herbert Menge report: "Class Assignment Fulfilled Under All Combat Conditions"]

[Text] Day in day out, the collectives of the Ministry for State Security fulfilled and are still fulfilling with great commitment their class assignment aimed at thwarting the many and varied subversive attacks by the imperialist opponent on the constitutional bases of our republic. Thus, in close cooperation with the working people, they contribute to reliably protecting the power of the workers and peasants.

Honorary banners were presented to collectives responsible for supporting the national economy, to collectives from the main administration for cadres and training, and to the administrative district of Erfurt for their outstanding achievements by Army General Erich Mielke at an impressive, militant meeting on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the GDR.

We Are Aware of Our Responsibility

Through their determined and preventive actions, the members of our departments achieved particularly valuable results in the reliable protection of state security as well as in protecting and strengthening the national economy. They contribute decisively to further strengthening the combat strength of the socialist state security organ.

Referring to the great achievements that the working people accomplished under the leadership of the party of the workers class, Erich Mielke stated: "We will not allow anybody—as we did during the past 40 years—to thwart the achievements, the values and ideals of our socialist order, our policy, and our ideology, not even through the current defamation and destabilization campaign by enemies from all quarters. We owe this to the legacy of revolutionary fighters who struggled against imperialism, fascism, and war, to all who participated in socialist construction, as well as to the coming generations. We know what we have achieved, we are aware of the complicated nature of the tasks that lie ahead of us and the problems that have to be tackled, and we are aware of our responsibility as communists and chekists, and we must act in accordance with this."

Erich Mielke described the recent massive attacks by agitators in the FRG as "another purposeful campaign directed against the GDR, against socialism, and all of social progress."

Antisocialist Forces Received Clear Answer

The opponent is trying, "in cooperation with certain forces at home, to establish an antisocialist opposition and to undermine the political and economic bases of our socialist state and social order. With the interior minister's decision concerning the application for registration by the so-called New Forum to the effect that the goals and concerns pursued by these forces contradict the Constitution and that the New Forum represents a platform that is hostile to the state, a clear answer was given to all antisocialist forces."

Always Unified and Firm

The past 40 years saw numerous dangerous attempts by enemies to weaken and destroy our republic. In all of these situations, the Ministry of State Security always did its duty in a unified and firm manner, and this will not change. "There is no alternative to socialism, the power of the workers and peasants, and the leading role of our Marxist-Leninist party."

Amid the applause of the participants in the meeting, the minister confirmed that the chekists, in close cooperation with all working people who are always ready for combat, will continue to do everything possible to consistently observe and strictly implement socialist law in accordance with the Constitution, and to determinedly defend and further strengthen the achievements of socialist society.

The director of the decorated collective responsible for supporting the national economy conveyed thanks for the high award and promised that all members will honorably fulfill every assignment of the worker-peasant power. Accomplishing high-level achievements for the well-being of the working people and peace in implementing the joint class assignment of the defense and security organs: This is the contribution of the Ministry for State Security to preparing the 12th SED Congress.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 20-27 Sep

AU0110170889

[Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German from 21 Sep to 28 Sep reports the following public appearances of GDR leaders (date of publication and page number in parentheses):

The following Politburo members and candidate members attended the "40 Years of GDR" exhibition in Berlin on 22 September: Hermann Axen, Heinz Kessler, Egon Krenz, Werner Krolikowski, Erich Mielke, Guenter Mittag, Guenter Schabowski, and Inge Lange. (23-24 Sep, p 1)

The following Politburo members and candidate members attended the opening of the national health conference in Berlin on 27 September: Kurt Hager, Guenther Kleiber, Harry Tisch, and Inge Lange.

Politburo Members Horst Dohlus and Siegfried Lorenz attended a conference on tasks of city party group organizers in Karl-Marx-Stadt on 21 September. (22 Sep, p 1)

Politburo Member Werner Krolikowski and Candidate Member Margarete Mueller visited agricultural cooperatives in Burow and Gueltz on 23 September. (25 Sep, p 1)

Politburo Member Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, received Danish Environment Minister Lone Dybkjaere for talks in Berlin on 26 September. (27 Sep, p 1)

Politburo Member Hans-Joachim Boehme awarded honorary banners to chemical workers in Merseburg on 21 September. (22 Sep, p 1) He also attended a meeting of the SED bezirk leadership in Halle on 25 September. (26 Sep, p 3)

Politburo Member Werner Jarowinski visited the village of Voelkershausen near Bad Salzungen on 27 September. (28 Sep, p 2)

Politburo Member Egon Krenz awarded an honorary banner to "7 October" Machine Tool Combine in Berlin on 21 September. (22 Sep, p 1)

Politburo Member Werner Krolikowski opened a new dairy production plant in Milk-Yard VEB in Potsdam on 21 September. (22 Sep, p 1)

Politburo Candidate Member Inge Lange attended a reception in the Malian Embassy in Berlin on 22 September. (23-24 Sep, p 2)

Politburo Member Siegfried Lorenz attended an artists' meeting in Karl-Marx-Stadt on 24 September. (25 Sep, p 2) Lorenz also awarded honorary banners to the "Martin Hoop" Housing Construction VEB in Zwickau on 27 September (28 Sep, p 1)

Politburo Member Guenter Mittag awarded honorary banners to microelectronics workers in Berlin on 20 September. (21 Sep, p 1)

Politburo Member Erich Mueckenberger attended a reception in the embassy of the Yemen Arab Republic in Berlin on 26 September. (27 Sep, p 2) Mueckenberger also awarded an honorary banner of the GDR-Soviet Friendship Society to the People's Police kreis office in Karl-Marx-Stadt on 27 September. (28 Sep, p 2) (filed as AU2909151189)

Politburo Candidate Member Gerhard Mueller attended an intelligentsia meeting in Weimar on 24 September. (25 Sep, p 2) He also awarded an honorary banner to workers in the "Karl Marx" Microelectronics VEB in Erfurt on 27 September (28 Sep, p 1)

Politburo Member Guenter Schabowski met with the chairmen of Berlin groups of National Front parties in Berlin on 25 September. (26 Sep, p 8)

Politburo Candidate Member Gerhard Schuerer awarded an honorary banner to workers in the ORSTA Hydraulics Combine in Leipzig on 27 September. (28 Sep, p 1)

Politburo Member Harry Tisch received members of visiting foreign trade union delegations in Berlin on 20 September. (21 Sep, p 2) Harry Tisch also visited the Bread and Pastries Combine VEB in Cottbus on 21 September. (22 Sep, p 2) He also received Egyptian trade union officials in Berlin on 25 September. (26 Sep, p 2) Tisch also awarded honorary banners to postal workers in Berlin on 26 September. (27 Sep, p 1)

Politburo Candidate Member Werner Walde awarded honorary medals to meritorious anti-fascist fighters in Cottbus on 20 September. (21 Sep, p 2)

Party Official Szokai Interviewed on Bloc Talks

LD0210232389 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 2015 GMT 2 Oct 89

["Panorama" program; unidentified presenter's interview with Imre Szokai, assistant head of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee Foreign Affairs Department]

[Text] [Presenter] Radical reform and conservative stubborness make the leaders of the Warsaw Pact member states restive and quarrelsome. The competing ambitions and the conflicts stemming from it create significant tensions between the allies. These days the events in this part of the world are so confusing and contradictory that the uniformity within the block has been replaced by unpredictable developments. For example, the member states, just the other day, drew conflicting conclusions from the establishment of the first noncommunist government of the Eastern bloc. This was the subject of a discussion I had with Imre Szokai, assistant head of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee Foreign Affairs Department.

[Begin recording] [Szokai] Our Bucharest ambassador was summoned to the Romanian Foreign Ministry at a fairly unusual time, at dawn. On behalf of Nicolae Ceausescu, as well as of the Romanian Communist Party leadership, they addressed a message also to the MSZMP leadership.

[Presenter] A verbal message?

[Szokai] Yes, according to Romanian practice they do not convey such things in writing. They always communicate verbally. And what this said was that the Warsaw Pact states should employ every means to block the elimination of socialism in Poland.

[Presenter] In other words, with force if need be.

[Szokai] Yes, this cannot be precluded either. As a matter of fact the message could be considered essentially to imply this as well.

[Presenter] What was the Hungarian response?

[Szokai] We very resolutely rejected, refused this initiative. Actually in our opinion this is a very determined endeavor for the revival of the Brezhnev doctrine which we have already declared dead. We also conveyed to the Romanians that in our view the forming of a government in Poland is taking place through parliamentary means and the Polish people, Polish society had decided on free elections as to what administration they wanted.

[Presenter] The only thing which is incomprehensible to me is why we did not publish this at the time, at the end of August.

[Szokai] We thought that with our decisive reply we had represented the Hungarian interests appropriately, had protected our interests and removed the possibility of a potential intervention into the internal affairs of another country, while at the same time we left the Romanian side with the possibility to suitably explain this initiative. For our view is that it is not rational to box Romania into a corner—it is already isolating itself—but on the contrary, a possibility should be offered to it to return into the community of European states.

[Presenter] How did the other member countries of the Warsaw Pact react to Romania's call?

[Szokai] According to my knowledge, all countries have rejected this initiative—of course, in tones different from each other. This is proven by the fact that in the end a consultation of such a character did not take place between the Warsaw Pact member states.

[Presenter] A few days ago the Central Committee secretaries of the communist parties of 12 socialist countries held talks in Bulgaria. I think that this was the first occasion that the Hungarian delegation, the delegation of the MSZMP, did not sign the resolution communique adopted there. Why?

[Szokai] The head of the Hungarian delegation was unable to accept the document because it contained parts which could not be reconciled with our fundamental aims, intentions and principles.

[Presenter] For example?

[Szokai] I have in mind, for example, that it condemned, in general terms, the revival of revanchism and nationalism in Europe. As a matter of fact it is possible really to agree with this formulation. When it cannot be accepted is when we know precisely the intention behind it.

[Presenter] And what is that?

[Szokai] We know precisely that in respect of Eastern Europe, certain circles have Hungary in mind...

[Presenter, interrupting] ...for example the Romanian leadership...

[Szokai, continuing] For example, the Romanian leadership, but I wouldn't narrow this exclusively to Romania. Similar voices may be heard in Czechoslovakia, in the GDR, and in other states, too.

[Presenter] To what extent do you consider the accusations and threats by the power elites of a few of our neighbors to be realistic?

[Szokai] Ultimately the aim of these accusations is the localization, the prevention of the spreading into their countries of the model-changing process in Eastern Europe. I can describe it also as fundamental reform. This process cannot be impeded by political pressure. Nor can it be impeded by economic means precisely because of mutual interdependence. Through pressure exerted on public opinion, or by influencing public opinion, precisely the opposite effect may be achieved. I have in mind here, for example, that a Romanian form of building socialism would not, I think, be attractive to

Hungarian society. With this I wanted to indicate that the leaderships of these countries have very limited means for impeding this process.

[Presenter] However, it appears that in foreign policy they are rather active, for they try to dull internal dissatisfaction through this externally-directed arrogance.

[Szokai] This is a natural behavior for these monolithic power structures, but it must be seen that those power structures which do not carry out a true dialogue with their own societies isolate themselves through this kind of policy. It is absolutely certain that Europe is hardly a buyer for such a policy. [end recording]

Puja Addresses New Marxist Left-Wing Group

LD0210211389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Former Foreign Minister Frigyes Puja has spoken at consultations at which 15 of our country's socialist organizations and bodies favoring Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] platforms created a new Marxist left-wing grouping. The participants declared that in Hungary, socialism had fallen into danger, and that the restoration of capitalism is threatening. As they pointed out, it is possible to find a way out of the current situation only by strengthening the MSZMP, by creating its unity, moreover on the basis of the communist and left-wing values that had stood the test of time. The groupings affected are of the view that the current policy is taking the country toward economic bankruptcy and social tragedy. For precisely this reason they emphasize that it is necessary to abandon the economic policy based on constraints, and it is necessary to strengthen the role of social property. The new grouping also voices the opinion that foreign policy must not be put at the service of momentary economic objectives, and that concessions must not be made to nationalism, because isolation of the country within the socialist community has become a real danger.

Leaders Deliver Speeches to National Assembly

Premier Nemeth's Address

LD2609134389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0944 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Speech by Premier Miklos Nemeth to the National Assembly—live]

[Text] Esteemed National Assembly: I would like to join Matyas Szuros' introductory thoughts and to borrow your attention and patience for not more than ½ an hour.

Perhaps never in the course of our history has the saying been truer than in our day: The eyes of the world are on us. We received a world historic chance when changing the economic and political structure, the radical transformation of the system introduced in 1949 and partially reformed in the Sixties and eighties, became a vital issue for Hungary. The objective is to build a new system feeding on historical and cultural Hungarian traditions and at the same time also meeting the demands of the age. The objective is not necessarily to break things into pieces, but if necessary, then we must also undertake this, cleverly, by putting building bricks together, if that is in the country's interest.

Everything must be subjected to building the new system—party and personal interests, times of elections, individual or group actions. The government, relying on Parliament and society, works at a high tempo. In months we have done things with which earlier governments wrestled over many, many years. We dictate a high tempo for ourselves, because this is what history dictates, and this is what the country's interest desires of us.

In the speech I made at the last session I used two words as mottos: unbinding [oldas] and bonding [kotes]. Because the chief question in every topic was how we can unbind the past bonds which fetter our present, and how we can bring into being new bonds in their place, which will constitute the strong basic fabric of an already conceived future.

Today, again. Two words crop up within me, which must characterize the conduct of Parliament and of the government responsible to it in this irregular political situation. And these are worthiness [meltosag] and humility [alazat]. What the nation is now attempting is an unprecedented undertaking. The path we have embarked upon is untrodden. The world has good reason, therefore, to watch where we get to. In the meantime, we have to prove not only whether we are capable of doing what we have undertaken, but also whether we turn out to be worthy of the undertaking itself. We have to demonstrate worthiness, therefore, and a humility worthy of our historic responsibility. The humility of serving the nation must permeate our thinking, our deeds. I speak of humiltiy in order to warn us against humiliation. Humility and humiliation: These are similar words with frighteningly different content. Humility demands strength, self-discipline. Humiliation presupposes weakness, cowardice. The one can be undertaken with head held high. The other can only be suffered with eyes downcast.

Esteemed deputies, the political events of the past months have prompted me to turn with these thoughts to the house that is now assembling again after a longer-than-intended interval. A few months ago we thought that even continuous legislation activity would be insufficient for us to evolve—by running a race against time—the system of legal conditions for the peaceful transition. And then the accusation cropped up and gained strength that the haste of the government and of Parliament is guided not by serving the transition, but by intending to salvage the old political structure itself. It was a serious accusation. It could not be dismissed with a wave of the hand. And this already necessitated humility in the affair, both on the part of the government and of the National Assembly.

And we undertook this. We undertook to suspend the presentation and discussion of the draft bills elaborated with hard work until the various parties, organizations, and movements had debated them within and among themselves, and had shaped their opinions about them. We undertook that the draft bills eventually submitted would reflect these opinions. You and the government undertook this, but the participants in the political coordinating discussions did not agree on this at the outset. They agreed not to postpone or suspend the presentation of the draft bills, but to withdraw them. The government also accepted this, and this was a mistake. True, not the first mistake. The first one occurred when the alternative organizations, the old parties in renewal and the new parties in formation, while voicing the necessity of separating the party and state, wished to discuss and reach agreement with the party in power on matters which belong to an expressly administrative or legislative sphere of authority.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] leadership, while itself voicing but still uncapable of digesting the practice of administrative independence, deemed it natural, on the basis of traditional thinking and practice, that the opposition would be ready to agree with it on issues which do not belong to the sphere of party responsibility, and it concluded the basic agreement relating to the political coordinating discussions.

I know that the supporters of the constitutional order, the deputies, and even several members of the government have been embarrassed by the fact that in their exercise of powers afforded by the law they are limited by such forces which while bring into the question the legitimacy of the Parliament and the government are not legitimized by anything themselves. This has created in many people the impression that they were forced into playing an undeserving role, and that by accepting this they humble themselves in the face of such an apparatus the power and mandate of which, granted by the people, is not yet registered by anything. The situation is indeed, unusual, but I add that the historic task, too, is unusual. Therefore, it is worthwhile to attempt the practice which otherwise seems impossible.

An order must always be over stepped if the objective is to enter into a new order, but we cannot stay permanently in the state of disorder, the nothing-is-valid situation. Parliament and the government have carried out what they had undertaken. What is more, I add, they have done more than that, but they cannot willingly accept a role through the playing of which they shake the trust in the validity of the constitutional order.

The national roundtable, which in Hungary could be organized only as a triangle, has carried out its task with honor. Through its work, its utilizable comments and notes, it has helped the government, it has exerted a moderating influence on political tensions. As a result of the political coordinating negotiations, the basis of legitimacy for the recommendations drawn up for the proposed ligislation now are based on the agreement of the majority of the Hungarian political forces. There is a need to endeavor to achieve a full-scale consensus at all times, but the dynamics of the democratic transition cannot be made dependent on that. The significance of the fact that the political organizations have exchanged views, expressed an opinion, and although not always in full agreement have arrived at an accord with respect to the drafts now submitted to the National Assembly by the government cannot be underestimated.

The fact that most of the time the public also was able to form a picture about these cannot be ignored, and it was a mistake that it did not always happen like this. However, one cannot adequately condemn when the agreement is discussed as if it was already a law for the people. The elected representatives of the people sit in this house; it is only they who can legislate. For if this right of theirs is now doubted by anybody, then it can be done against any parliament, elected by any kind of election, and in fact, by anybody. Respect for the law requires more than the formulation of our own will as law. This Parliament has been characterized for a long time by responsible legislatorial behavior and therefore it cannot be demanded, obviously, that it lapse back into a state of affairs left behind long years ago. This, indeed, would be humbling, and has nothing to do with noble humility. The government has a need for a strong, self-confined Parliament, and the esteemed house has no reason whatsoever for giving up its mission in a manner of shaken faith.

I am sure that the will of the government, and of the Parliament, too, is reflected in the wish of the national roundtable that the democratic transition should be peaceful, while the new Hungary should be a jointly built construction. The basis for this now is the joint activity of the Parliament and the government. Together they constitute the power center, on the decisions of which the fate of society, the economy, and the entire democratic transition depend. The government is resolutely firm in carrying out this process to the end, but it also must be seen that in the meantime it is acting in an extraordinarily fragile political and economic medium.

There is no shortage of those who advocate reform in words, in nicely sounding breast-beating speeches; but all this changes the minute specific measures are taken in the interest of these reforms which violate personal or group interests. We are living through the already commenced election campaign, in a period of a political and ideological campaigning. Programs and objectives, dreams and wishes, promises and accusations, the hope for an improvement and the merciless struggle for power are all present in the political arena. However, we must ensure that even in the confusion of battle in the political transition we protect the operational capability of the country and grab the opportunities to move forward. We must not forget for a second that in the present struggle the only ideas and actions which are credible are those which, both in their objectives and results, fall in line with the growing demand of our patriots for progress.

Esteemed National Assembly, this government has been elected by the Parliament. It is Parliament to which it is responsible, and even if the political situation has changed, even if the political value judgements of Hungarian society have changed, until the new elections it is this Parliament which represents the country. This is the order of things in every civilized country of the world.

We must work fast but we must not circumvent the legitimate Parliament over any issue. This must be recognized by the parties and by the ambitious, new or old, political groupings, party struggles between themselves, their alliances, their compromises and their rejections. [sentence as heard] It is for this reason, too, that we emphasize the fact that everything in Hungary should take place in the coming months in keeping with the regulations of parliamentarism. We are the government of the nation whose legitimacy is granted by adherence to the constitutional order. Accordingly, the government is constitutionally responsible for the operation of public law institutions, the state organizations in a manner in keeping with their designation, and so that Parliament be able to fulfill its constitutional task.

The political decisions of the national roundtable can only become legitimate decisions through a public law-based decision-making mechanism. This can be possible only if, until the new Parliament to be created after the new elections, which, in terms of constitutional order, is the legitimate public law decision center—the Parliament and the government—receives priority.

Therefore, led by our national responsibility, I propose that while we carefully examine the so-called draft cardinal laws, we should legislate these into law as soon as possible in the interest of our future.

Esteemed house, I must state here—because it is a preoccupation for wider public opinion, too—that the government got into a conflict recently with the leadership of SZOT [National Council of Trade Unions], not only the government but even myself as well. You know my stance, which arises from a deep conviction, and I endorse my statements which came under attack. However, I do not accept that the government, or myself, has an unbridgeable problem regarding the workers.

Indeed, I do not understand on what basis it can be alleged in our country that the government is pursuing interests that run counter to those of the workers. I see no principled ideological, political, or practical reason for this. The income of a government member, a government official, will not increase just because he withdraws support from a loss-making plant, or if he does not meet the wage demands of individual trades or groups. He gains no political advantage. What is more, he undertakes a grave risk if he is forced to take so-called harsh, unpopular measures. Surely it is not supposed that he is guided by ill will toward the nation?

It is true that for a long time we lived in an era when these questions could not even be asked. It is good that by now this is possible, and I hope that it will be possible tomorrow, as well. This does not frighten the government, rather it occasions relief. Criticism, too, is more responsible if there exists the possibility that tomorrow the critic will have to resolve the things for which he calls people to account today.

However, we cannot have it that until the elections decide the political power issues the government should bide its time or at most strive to take popular measures. It would stand to reason that it would give way to the temptation to ease the burdens, reduce taxes, and increase welfare expenditures. With this, it would either win the elections, and thereby put itself in an impossible situation with regard to the future, or it might lose the elections, but at least it would put its successor in an impossible situation. For the latter would have to increase the population's burdens, raise taxes, and it would have no money for increasing social security. It could, of course, blame its difficulties on the previous government, for the past 40 or even 70 years, but that would not improve its situation.

I have already once said in this behalf: I am not deaf. I talk to lots of people. In the past weeks, from the multitude of conversations, I have felt more and more precisely that public opinion at one and the same time demands changes and internal security, calculableness. For me, this is important because earlier I found that these two demands appeared separately, and what is more, often in contradiction to one another. In these complex weeks, more and more people feel that security and calculableness can be created only through change.

I also know and see how millions in this country live, with what difficult problems they struggle. Statistics also reflect this, but this also pours forth from the thousands of letters sent to me, reflecting confidence but telling of hard destinies.

Although we have striven to curb the deterioration, the grave devaluation of average pensions, through pension supplements granted several times during the year—even though this meant billions in extra spending for the country—unfortunately, in spite of this, the poor still remained poor. We must act because this situation is unworthy and really untenable. And we will act because that is what we promised at the start of the year and that is what we replied to your interpellations in the course of the past 6 months. We can do something, too because the management of our social security fund, made independent at the end of last year, has developed favorably. We must not spend these takings on anything other than improving the welfare situation and creating a certain security reserve.

The right of decision, however, rests in your hands. For this reason I propose to the esteemed house that in its committees it debate this year's possibility for the one-off support of those on pensions of low amounts. According to my knowledge, the amount at our disposal, even with the creation of a reserve, would provide the means for us to grant, up to a determined level (?of provision), up to 6,000 or 7,000 forints a one-off amount; for example, 2,000 forints in December.

Naturally, other concrete solutions also could be weighed up. This would not affect our commitment and plan to offset next year's price rises, at least up to the level of the average pensions, beginning January. In order that those concerned should get this money before Christmas, the esteemed National Assembly would have to decide in October. As for the extent and system of the January pension increase, it could decide those in the course of the debates to be held on the budget and next year's management of social security.

Esteemed National Assembly! No one can wriggle out of responsibility; neither Parliament nor the government. If the National Assembly and the government want to be honorable, they must keep in view, not their own chances, but only the country's interests. For this reason, their responsibility extends well beyond the term of their mandate. We therefore must do our work according to our best convictions as long as we have the possibility for this.

For a long time now we have not worked by turning inward. We form the most important elements of our administrative strategy by integrating the ideas of the most various social forces. Yes, we do have strategic concepts, and in the service of this we pursue the direction with every essence and element of which we have acquainted both the esteemed house and the country's public opinion. We also have undertaken, in a proper order, to bring it before you in the autumn of this year.

I have stressed it many times already, but I have reason to repeat it now: Do not expect from us a new version of the traditional government programs. A program along the lines of—let it rise by this much, let it increase by that much, and let it fall by this much, let it transform that much—is simply alien to the economic and political conditions of the transition, but also to the system of tools of administrative direction.

We are not troubled by the voice that accuses us of lacking a concept, nor by the one that asks: What good is a strategy to this government now? We are not manufacturing an alibi for ourselves, not for this government to retain power, but we are seeking realistic paths of resurgence for the country, for the people.

I know that by now many people raise their heads in irritation at the sound of the word resurgence [kibontakozas]. I understand it, but I ask them not to do it. Let them recall that when in the times of the Tatar invasions our ancestors fled into the swamps, and only the reed through which they breathed showed above the surface, their minds probably were not occupied by the thought that this is a token of resurgence, even though it was. All they wanted was to survive.

We, too, have been submerged, and serious forces have pushed us under the water. The joint strength of a tyranny, a bureaucracy, which deformed a beautiful philosophic promise into a freak, and of an opponent—seen as an enemy—which gave a stone-hard response to its aggressiveness. Now the pressure of both forces has lifted all at once. What is more, they promise a helping hand.

Let us then make use of the elevating powers. Let us first of all extend our hands to one another here at home, and let the opposing forces not try to find supporters at one another's expense. Our serious partners will help not parties, but the country, and not with aid, but with concrete cooperation. For this we have to be a reliable, calculable partner. We must create stable conditions and we must pursue a consistent reform policy.

Esteemed National Assembly! The government is clear about the grave dangers that accompany the so-called sponteneous privatization process, the essence of which is that state property entrusted to the enterprises will, in certain cases, change owners below its true value; that abuses will occur. This process, insufficiently controlled by the state, calls forth justified anxiety from public opinion and the political parties, and at the same time endangers the basic objectives of government policy aimed at the change of ownership.

The government, in the knowledge of these dangers, wishes to take determined measures. Above all, it draws attention to the fact that the presently valid law on state enterprises also prescribes the commitment for responsible management, the protection of social property, the careful handling and increase of the state assets entrusted to the enterprise. Our penal laws, on the other hand, prohibit and qualify as a crime the misappropriation or careless handling of society's assets.

The government draws attention to the observance of these laws; it condemns the squandering of society's assets, their unscrupulous or unprofessional handling, and with the legal tools at its disposal it will take a stand against every kind of abuse.

In the interest of safeguarding the effectiveness and honor of the process of change of ownership, the government will elaborate for Parliament a proposal for the creation of a legal regulation to insure the control of this process, the realistic evaluation of assets, the necesssary publicness and competition. The government must, in extreme cases, also possess the right to prohibit, to halt the given transaction. All this is aimed not at the unnecessary restrengthening of state intervention, but at safguarding the honor and effectiveness of the so-called privatization process and the interests of Hungarian society as a whole.

The present enterprise autonomies, according to the experience, are generally not fitted for the effective exercise of propriatorial functions. This also is proved by the unhealthy phenomenon of the spontaneous privatization process. In the long-term, therefore, there is a need to create a system of propriatorship where the exclusion of distortions and abuses is guaranteed, above all, by the functioning of the system itself. This, at the same time, provides the possibility for realizing a comprehensive process of socialization and privatization, guided by a modern state turned democratic.

It is true that we are poor, but we are not beggars. Therefore let no one have any doubt: We will not put our honor up for sale; we will not sell our values below cost because we have worth, both for Europe and the world. Let us have, because we do have, worth also for ourselves, and let us respect it. Let us respect one another as long as we are worthy of respecting one another.

Esteemed house! At the discussions I conducted with the church leaders, a Biblical quotation was made by the church fathers: The sins of the fathers are visited on the sons. It would hardly be possible to speak more precisely and briefly about the legacy of the past which burdens us all.

The church fathers added: Where it is possible to do something constructive for the people, for the country's prosperity, there is the place of the believer.

For me, this is more than encouraging, and all I would add is that there is the place of the nonbelievers, as well. As for the government, its strategy precisely is to give scope to constructive, individual, communal activity, to initiative and undertaking. What is more, a wide scope because we have oceans to do.

In the token of these thoughts, I propose to your attention the discussion of the cardinal laws and I ask you to accept this. [applause]

Minister Horvath Speech

LD2609205689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1139 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Speech by Interior Minister Dr Istvan Horvath to the National Assembly—live]

[Excerpts] On behalf of the government, I submit the draft laws on emigation and immigration, as well as on travel abroad and passports, to the National Assembly. The two draft laws express the firm intention of the government to consistently meet our obligations entailed by adopting the universal declaration on human rights, as well as the document on the international convention on civil and political rights. All this harmonizes with our irreversible endeavors to build a constitutional statehood.

In accordance with the ideal of our political and economic openness to the outside world, we should not bind the individual with artificial restrictions on his being able to choose, according to his free conviction, the country and people, among whom he wishes to live. While preparing the law, from the outset our endeavors have always been aimed at creating regulations that take into account our obligations undertaken in the international agreements, and the requirements of our citizens. [passage omitted]

Esteemed National Assembly, we regard the free choice of place of dwelling and residence to be a basic human right. This means, among other things, that everyone can leave any country, including his own country, and he can return to his homeland any time. Taking all these into consideration, the draft law on emigration and immigration guarantees emigration as a basic right, and restricts this only in the narrowest circle, for reasons of outstandingly important social interest. The proposal—and I feel this is natural—bans the emigration of all those who have gravely violated our laws, and against whom, for this reason, penal proceedings are underway, and also those who have not yet served their punishment of imprisonment. It also raises conditions vis-a-vis those who have public debts. Prior to their emigration, these people are obligated to pay these, or to pledge a commitment to do so. The draft, on the issue of public debts, views tax and social insurance debts as being factors that restrict emigration.

Restrictions of a similar type are placed on those who avoid obligations to the homeland; the draft is aimed at averting this when it enforces the interests of national defense, vis-a-vis people liable to military service. Neither do the international agreements cast doubt on the right of the affiliated states to safeguard their secrets, in accordance with their state, social and economic interests. The proposal builds on this when, for a set time, it places a restriction on those who possess state secrets, the safeguarding of which is an especially important national security interest of ours. However, this cannot be arbitrary, and it is necessary to ensure that the cause for this restriction is regularly reexamined.

The draft also contains restrictions in the interests of the rights of the individual. It ensures that emigration can be prevented for the protection of minors and people who are unable to care for themselves, if emigration were to violate their interests, or if their maintenance is not sorted out in a reassuring manner.

Esteemed National Assembly. The draft law takes as its point of departure that the right to return home is stronger than that of emigration. Therefore, it does not permit any restriction of this, and in this regard, it proposes that the current shortcomings in our citizenships' rights be abolished. Our regulations pertaining to citizenship, albeit in a modern manner, sort out the relationship of the state and its citizens, by taking into account aspects of citizenship that pertain to confidence and morals. Yet, up to the present, the possibility for Hungarian citizens living abroad to return home, any time, as a basic right, has not been ensured. By providing this right, without restriction, Hungary is flinging open, and keeping open, its doors to all those who wish to return home, thereby abolishing the stigma, associated with bad memories, of absconder, emigre, illegally staying abroad, which has caused so much sorrow, individual and family conflict.

Esteemed National Assembly: According to international practice, every state, in accordance with its social and economic interests, makes it possible for foreigners to immigrate. This practice is followed by the draft when, as opposed to declaring emigration and returning home as a basic human right, it does not view the immigration of foreigners into Hungary in this light, and still binds this to conditions and preliminary permission.

The reasons for exclusion, which have been stated in connection with immigration, assert our basic national, social, economic interests. Our objective still cannot be the admission of foreigners who harm the state's security, public order, public health, public morals, the rights and freedom of others. For this reason, the draft categorically bans the immigration of these people. It can rightly be said that the above concepts are overly general. Without doubt that is true. At the same time, I note that the criteria, on the basis of the document of the international convention, have been incorporated in the draft by means of a verbatim transfer of what is worded there. In my opinion, with regard to the course of administration and the judiciary in such matters, the judicial practice of administrative surveillance and the courts will create a unified interpretation.

A similar task appears in the cases when the organs taking action for humanitarian reasons, for example, in the event of family-unification, can permit the immigration of foreigners for whom not every condition is given. Thus, it can happen that a person whose housing, provisions, sustenance, is not sufficiently ensured, who perhaps committed a minor offence earlier, who perhaps for this reason was expelled from the country, might later be given the opportunity to immigrate, on the basis of reasonableness. On the basis of what has been said, I believe that it is clear that, inasmuch as the draft law is adopted, the norms of our legal system that are related to these issues, alongside the primary and natural requirements of the Hungarian citizens, will fully accord with the stipulations of the document of the international convention in civil and political rights, and with the practice of the countries that accept this.

Esteemed National Assembly: Enacting the law on immigration makes it necessary to modernize the regulations that are in force concerning travel abroad and passports. If we were not to do so, a situation would develop in which it was simpler to emigrate than to travel abroad for a few days. Therefore, it is important that the two laws necessarily come into force sumultaneously. That is why they are being submitted together.

The law-decree in force on travel abroad and on passports, already views travel abroad as a basic citizens' right. However, alongside this, it contains extensive restrictions. It is enough for me to point out that when the draft is adopted, 19 unjustified restrictive provisions will be eliminated. Those which remain will basically correspond to the restrictions on emigration, indeed, in certain respects they will be even narrower since, for example, the existence of public debts and maintenance obligations are not hindrances to travel abroad.

I should like to speak separately about regulations affecting those liable for military service. At present, the provisions on restrictions to travel abroad are contained in the No. 1 Law of 1976, as amended by the No. 22 Law of 1989 on National Defense. The question may arise: Why is it necessary to make these restrictions figure in this draft, and to amend, again, the defense Law that was amended at the spring session? This is because the draft on travel abroad and passports decrees that the right for Hungarian citizens to travel abroad can only be restricted in this law.

Two versions for the regulation of the set of issues figure in the draft. According to the "A" version, a person of military age who is doing military service, and one who has been called up, or who has been informed of the expected date of his calling-up, can travel abroad only with the approval of the defense minister. The "B" version extends the restriction to everyone of military age who has not yet done his service, inasmuch as he wishes to travel abroad for longer than 3 months. In the "A" version, it is the free guarantee of travel abroad, the human right attached to this, which are in the foreground; the "B" version honors more vigorously what is best for the national defense interest.

Since both interests may be deemed important, the government asks the National Assembly to decide in the matter of the "A" and "B" variant. No doubt you have taken note of the fact that, according to the proposals, a wider sphere of those of conscript age will have to ask for the Defense Ministry's assent for going abroad than for emigration. The explanation for this apparent contradiction is that from this sphere of those of conscript age, considerably more people, and more often, travel abroad than the number of those who emigrate. But on the other hand, fulfillment of their defense commitment, on the other hand, requires that the military organs concerned should know whether or not they are staying in the country.

The possession of state secrets which are important from the viewpoint of national security, is just as much as obstacle to traveling abroad as it is to emigration. Naturally, here as well, guarantees are laid idown, which are capable of curbing eventual abuses. The rule of law which is valid at present generally sets the period of staying abroad at 90 days. Whoever exceeds this today without permission, is qualified as a person staying abroad illegally. And in the case of his return home, if he has committed no crime, a proceeding for law infringement may be launched against him and he can be excluded from travel abroad.

The draft no longer limits the period of staying abroad. Thereby it abolishes the concept of unlawful staying abroad, as well as the sanctions linked to it. In accordance with this, it is necessary to amend the provisions of the Penal Code and the government decree on certain law infringements. Acording to this, in future, among the cases of forbidden border crossings, only those which are carried out with arms will be classified as a crime, and the others will be classified as law infringements.

According to the draft, the passport is the property of the Hungarian State. It accords with international custom that this be laid down in a law, and it also establishes the right, in cases when a passport is taken away by foreign authorities, for it to be demanded back along diplomatic channels.

There are to be fewer kinds of passport. The special passport, hitherto given to Hungarian citizens living abroad, and which unjustifiably marks them out, will completely cease to exist. In the future, regardless of where they are staying, every Hungarian citizen will get a private passport. Instead of the permission to return home, which has evoked much incomprehension and misunderstanding in an international practice, foreign representations will supply a private passport also to Hungarian citizens who, during a temporary stay abroad, have lost their passport.

The draft does not make provision for the service passport. Its abolition sparked off quite a lot off debates during the draft bill's preparation. It is not possible to list really strong arguments in favor of its retention. It did not so much serve the possibilities of performing work, rather it had become a status symbol. This passport was given to ministries, organs of national authority, and the workers of certain privileged enterprises. Now various enterprises, cooperatives, and private individuals as well, pursue, and in future may pursue ever more widely, foreign trade activity. Up until now, they have been performing their tasks with private passports ensuring unlimited travel abroad, valid for all the countries of the world. Henceforth nothing justifies making a distinction in their case in regard to passports.

In the event of the proposal being adopted, those people entitled to diplomatic passports will, for the first time, be regulated by a high-level rule of law, publicly declared. Up until now it was contained in a government resolution. Accepting the majority stance of debates so far, according to the supplementary draft bill, the spouses and children of every state secretary and National Assembly deputy will also be entitled to diplomatic passports. It has been found that the circle of those entitled to diplomatic passports, according to the draft, is wide. During preparation of the draft, proposals were even made for further expansion, which, however, can no longer be supported by the international agreement on diplomatic relations and international practice.

Esteemed National Assembly. So far, I have highlighted, one by one, the most important regulating principles and solutions of the draft bills. Now I would like to speak about issues which relate alike to both drafts. One of the emphatically guaranteeing elements of ensuring legality, is the introduction of the possibility for the judicial supervision of decisions taken by the administrative police in the framework of state direction procedures. This method of legal redress, in harmony with what is formulated in the document of agreement and with the principles of constitutional statehood, guarantees the assertion of entitlements. It increases legal security, so that not an individual judge, but a judicial council will decide. And the prescription of nonlitigious proceedings makes possible the rapid passing of a decision of legal force.

Both drafts authorize the Interior Ministry to regulate issues of internal procedure which do not require legal interpretation. The short amount of time available did not make it possible for us to send to you, for the purpose of briefing, the decrees on implementation, together with the drafts. This could only take place now, at the session. But I trust that even so, it will be possible to introduce the regulation in its entirety.

The regulation of the right of emigration and immigration, of returning home and going abroad, brought into harmony also with our international commitments, affects several areas of our legal system. It has an effect on financial, social security, welfare and health, housing management, labor spheres, and other laws as well. For this reason the government deemed it necessary that, joining the draft bills now submitted, the leaders of the ministries and organs of national jurisdiction concerned should see to the reexamination of the rules of law belonging to their competence, and see to their necessary amendment, in such a way that it should be possible to bring them into force at the same time as the draft bills.

The government considers this to be an extremely important task, because it is clear that the draft now submitted is only a framework which will have to be filled with the regulations relating to the abovementioned issues. That is also why the draft says that the time of the laws coming into force should be 1 January 1990. The period between their adoption, and their coming into force, is indispensably necessary for the preparation of the organs concerned in the implementation, and for any eventual further legislation.

The draft bills have become widely known already, both at home and abroad. Many people have welcomed them gladly, and they expressed the demand that in the period before they come into force, affairs should already be settled in this spirit. Otherwise, not only is this expected by the citizens, but it is justified by the changes that have occurred in our social life, by our country's foreign political assessment. For this reason, I ask the esteemed National Assembly to agree, that until the draft laws come into force, the organs that take action should not apply sanctions which are based on the valid legal regulations, and which fall into the sphere of passing judgement. [passage omitted]

I recommend the two draft laws to your kind attention. I ask the esteemed National Assembly to discuss and adopt these, as well as the supplementary draft laws. [applause]

Romanian 19 Aug Protest to PZPR Reported

AU0210131389 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 29 Sep - 1 Oct p 6

[Unattributed report headlined "Polish-Romanian Documents"]

[Text] At midnight on 19 August the ambassador of the Polish People's Republic in Bucharest was summoned to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where Central Committee Secretary Stoian delivered an oral statement, having been authorized to do so by the authorities of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and Nicolae Ceausescu personally on the current situation in Poland, which was deemed very grave.

The Romanian authorities are following the situation with great interest and concern. They declare that they do not wish to interfere in Poland's internal affairs, but the gravity of the events in question extends beyond the realm of Poland's internal affairs.

In the opinion of the RCP authorities, Czeslaw Kiszczak's decision to abandon the forming of a government, the proposal to entrust Mazowiecki with the mission of forming a government, as well as Walesa's proposal to establish a government without communist participation indicate that the PZPR is abandoning its leading role in the state.

Allowing "Solidarity" to come to power (to form a government) runs counter to the revolutionary concept of the construction of socialism and serves the most reactionary imperialist circles.

The RCP authorities state that, as a communist party and socialist country, they cannot consider this to be solely a Polish internal affair. They believe that it concerns all the socialist countries.

Poland is a member of the Warsaw Pact and a depositary of the Pact's documents: The party's abandonment of its leading role represents a serious blow to the Warsaw Pact, is incompatible with the tasks of the Warsaw Pact, creates a serious threat to the pact, and constitutes strong support for NATO.

Taking the above into account, the Romanian party leadership and government believe that the communist and workers parties of the socialist countries, the members of the Warsaw Pact, should adopt a stance and demand that "Solidarity" should not be entrusted with the mission of forming a government.

The authorities believe that the formation of a new government should be based on the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], the National Trade Union Confederation (7 million members), and other progressive democratic forces, in conjunction with the Armed Forces, and that a government of national salvation should be formed in order to save socialism in Poland. The results of the elections cannot result in the abandonment of the interests of the people and the workers class (Panama was cited as an example; a small country that did not yield to U.S. pressure and declared the results of its elections void).

The RCP leadership and Ceausescu personally decided to appeal this very night to the leadership of the PZPR and the leaderships of all the communist and workers parties of the Warsaw Pact states. It expresses serious concern over the situation in Poland and the way in which it is being resolved. It appeals to the PZPR Politburo and expresses the hope that all that is necessary will be done to counteract a course that is geared toward the elimination of socialism in Poland.

The cause of socialism dictates that communist parties should act in a uniform manner at this particularly important time to prevent worker and peasant power from being transferred into the hands of reactionary circles.

The RCP authorities call on the workers class and progressive forces to defend socialism in Poland and take action against imperialism.

The RCP leadership has decided to turn to the PZPR leadership, the Politburos, and to the party leaderships of the Warsaw Pact countries and other socialist countries to express serious concern and to ask for joint action to avert the grave situation in Poland and to defend socialism and the Polish people.

Secretary Stoian conveyed a request from the RCP and Ceausescu that the above observations be immediately passed on and said that a statement on the PZPR's position is awaited. He also said that his statement had been simultaneously conveyed to the ambassadors of the other Warsaw Pact countries.

Politburo Reply to Romanian Note

AU0210134989 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 29 Sep - 1 Oct p 6

[Under boldface headline: "Polish-Romanian Documents": "Reply from the PZPR Central Committee Politburo to the Stance of the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee and to Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Concerning an Assessment of the Current Situation in Poland, Including the Appointment of the PPR Government"]

[Text] In connection with the statement by Comrade I. Stoian, Romanian Communist Party [RCP] Central Committee secretary, made in the presence of C. Oancea, deputy foreign minister of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and conveyed to the ambassador of the Polish People's Republic [PPR) in Bucharest, I [not further identified] am empowered by the Politburo of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] to say the following:

1. We have carefully acquainted ourselves with the stance of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee expressing concern over the fate of socialism in Poland, our allied commitments, and a possible impact of the development of Polish events on the interests of the community of socialist states.

We are trying to comprehend the intentions of the Romanian comrades. Nevertheless, we cannot accept and recognize the assessments and conclusions contained in the RCP leadership's statement.

An assessment of the current situation in Poland, including the party's stance vis-a-vis the appointment of a new government, was presented in the resolution of the 14th PZPR Central Committee Plenum. This resolution says, among other things, that "only a government that enjoys the broadest social confidence and support and consists of representatives of all the PPR's political forces represented in the Sejm can lead Poland out of the crisis by means of evolutionary and consistent reforms."

Having expressed its current political line, our party is guided by the supreme interests of the nation and state, on the basis of the existing realities.

We are convinced that, under Poland's circumstances, this line is the only correct one, and possesses no alternative. Neither are we losing sight of the general interests of socialism as a social formation.

Our party's consent to the forming of a government with the participation of all the forces represented in parliament does not mean that the PZPR has abandoned its influence on the shaping of state policies that suit the interests of socialism and the expectations of the people.

In accordance with the role of our party in society, in state and administrative bodies, and in the Armed Forces and peacekeeping forces, we will also do everything to preserve the PZPR's strong position in the government that is now being formed. The basis for the PZPR's activity is meant to be the political platform agreed on between the partners of the coalition.

The office of president, with his broad, well-known constitutional prerogatives, is a guarantee of the political continuity of the Polish state and of the evolutionary nature of the socialist transformations.

2. We reject the assertion by the Romanian comrades whereby the presence of "Solidarity" representatives in the PPR Government serves "the most reactionary imperialist circles" and that this is "not just a Polish domestic affair, but one that concerns every socialist country."

We believe the Romanian comrades have no grounds to make assessments like these. The composition of the Polish Government and the way it was formed is solely the domestic affair of our people. Any attempt to undermine this principle from outside would be a contravention of the fundamental rule of international law of nonintervention in the domestic affairs of other states. The Romanian leadership has always strongly insisted on this principle vis-a-vis its own country. A clear example of this is Romania's nonparticipation in the intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

It is impermissible to accuse the government of a sovereign state a priori of being servile to any foreign forces.

3. We consider the accusation that the transformations in Poland constitute a serious blow to the Warsaw Pact, a serious danger to it, and a strong support for NATO to be completely unfounded. We interpret this as nothing other than an unjustified attempt to undermine our country's credibility in the alliance. If only on account of its own security interests, Poland has been and will be faithful to its allied commitments within the framework of the Warsaw Pact, and will do all it can to consolidate the allied links between the Warsaw Pact partners and sides, just as it has done so far. In this work, Poland possesses unquestioned major achievements.

We clearly said so in the stance of the 14th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, in which we said: "Poland must remain an economically and militarily reliable component of CEMA and the Warsaw Pact. For several decades, our membership of the Warsaw Pact has been a guarantee of national security."

We reiterate that our party's goal is for the transformations in Poland to lead to internal stability based on an improvement to the economic situation and to a consolidation of Poland's position and role in Europe and the world, and therefore to an increase in our contribution to European security and to the Warsaw Pact's significance in international relations.

We beg to recall that in their public declarations and commitments adopted at the "roundtable," political forces outside the PZPR also support Poland's membership of the Warsaw Pact, and remain faithful to allied commitments, guided, of course, not by ideological conditions, but by downright political realism.

The PZPR will firmly implement all these declarations, retaining control over, among other things, the National Defense and Interior Ministries.

4. We believe that the Warsaw Pact member-states should closely observe and respect the jointly adopted stance.

The Romanian statement presented to our ambassador is a contravention of the communique, adopted also by the Romanian side at the latest Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee meeting in Bucharest, which says that "there are no universal patterns of socialism, and no one enjoys a monopoly over truth. The building of our society is a creative process which occurs in each country in accordance with that country's conditions, traditions, and requirements."

We expect everyone, including the Romanian side, to respect the principles, contained in the joint documents of the Warsaw Pact member-states, concerning the development of relations between these states "on the basis of equality, independence, and each country's right to work out independently its own political line, strategy, and tactics, without outside interference."

5. We wish to stress that the transformations in Poland and other socialist countries in no way affect the interests of Romania. On the contrary, they serve to strengthen the position of socialism in the world, and restore vitality to the idea of socialism and its force of appeal. Therefore, they do not give the RCP cause to issue to other communist and workers parties the kinds of assessments and conclusions about the situation in Poland that are contained in the statement.

In this situation, we are forced to acquaint the communist and workers parties of the Warsaw Pact member-states with our reply to this statement.

Being in a really difficult situation, the PZPR expects understanding and support, but not the kind put forward by the RCP.

On our part, we are ready to share our experiences and assessments openly with the RCP, just as we have done so far. We hope this will enable the Romanian comrades to better understand our conditions and revise their assessments, in the supreme interests of the cooperation between both parties and states.

Warsaw, 21 August 1989.

Bisztyga States Opinion

LD2909144889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1320 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] In connection with the publication in today's GAZETA WYBORCZA of the Romanian Party's opinion on the subject of events in Poland as well as the reply by the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee Politburo, a PAP journalist asked Jan Bisztyga, the Central Committee spokesman, to give his opinion. This is his reply:

The PZPR conducts an exchange of views with all communists, workers' and socialist parties. This is normal practice in international and interparty relations. It serves the interests of our nation and state. The dialogue between the parties is characterized by candor and openness and also by shared principles, and its aim is mutual understanding and cooperation. The exchange of views between the Romanian Communist Party and the PZPR reflects the state of relations and assessments of internal problems. The publication on that subject was made without the knowledge and agreement of the PZPR Central Committee. We are opposed to this exchange of views being used to upset relations between our parties and states, as it may only result in damage for Poland.

'Summary' of PZPR-CPCZ Final Communique

LD2609034189 Warsaw PAP in English 2339 GMT 25 Sep 89

["PUWP-CPC: Final Communique (Abridged)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Prague, Sept. 25—Here is a summary of a joint PUWP [Polish United Workers' Party]-CPC [Czechoslovak Communist Party] communique published today at the end of a working visit paid by Mieczyslaw Rakowski to Czechoslovakia:

Invited by CPC CC [Central Committee] PUWP CC 1st secretary Mieczyslaw Rakowski paid a friendly working visit to Czechoslovakia on September 25. While in Prague, he held talks with CPC CC General Secretary Milos Jakes and was received by CPC CC Presidium member, President Gustav Husak. Rakowski conveyed friendly greetings from Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski to the president of Czechoslovakia. Gustav Husak asked him to pass his greetings to the Polish leader.

Mieczyslaw Rakowski also met with CPC CC Presidium member, also Czechoslovak Prime Minister Ladislaw Adamec.

During the friendly, party meeting, both party leaders exchanged information about the main tasks facing communists in both countries and about the economic and political situation in Poland and Czechoslovakia. They also discussed problems of cooperation between both parties under the present situation and exchanged views on the most important problems of foreign policy.

Mieczyslaw Rakowski described the present situation in the PUWP under conditions which emerged after June, this year. He pointed to the unchangeable attachment of the PUWP to the principles of socialism and to the moves the PUWP undertakes for the good of economic and political reforms in Poland.

During the preparations for the PUWP 11th Congress and an in-depth analysis of its situation, the PUWP heads for deep changes, seeks to attract to its ranks active representatives of the left, and to restore its confidence in the broad social masses.

Evaluating the political problems they laid particular stress on the need for all-round cooperation of the socialist countries. They voiced support for the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries which lead to the consolidation of peace in the world, reduction and liquidation of nuclear and conventional weapons, qualitatively new relations in the international policy. They decisively discarded the endeavours of forces which try to interfere in the internal affairs of the socialist countries and do not give up schemes for changing the post-war shape of Europe.

The working friendly visit was held in a constructive, open, and party atmosphere.

Poll Rates PZPR Support at 3 Percent

LD2709204189 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] The Public Opinion Research Center [CBOS] has published its newest data. They were carried today by POLITYKA in an article entitled "Moods in the Queues" [kolejkowe nastroje].

A politically significant fact today is the Polish United Workers party's [PZPR] weakness. If elections to the Sejm and Senate were held next Sunday, a mere 3 percent of the electorate would vote for it. Sixty-five percent would vote for Solidarity, CBOS states. But society is not uncritical in its opinions about Solidarity. Only a few percent of people would like an exclusively Solidarity government. The majority backs a grand coalition government and favors the PZPR participating in it. Public pressure for the political agreement is very clear. Half of these who responded to the CBOS questionnaire say that the party should give total support to the new government. There is no significant assent to redical demands and behavior. Support for the National Trade Union Confederation [OPZZ], for example, has dropped by 17 percent. This, CBOS states, is linked to the too far-reaching demands and hard-hitting statements by OPZZ representatives at the round table.

To conclude personalities in the statistical mirror: Izabela Cywinska [minister of culture and arts] got the best assessment. Her nomination was kindly received by 47 percent of those polled. Czeslaw Kiszczak and Jacek Kuron increased the number of their supporters: the first, by 14 percent; the second by 13 percent, during the past few months. The highest mark goes to Tadeusz Mazowiecki: Only 2 percent were dissatisfied with his being entrusted with forming a government. Eighty-four percent declare their liking for him and 89 percent are confident that his activity serves society well.

Politburo Considers Poll Results, Party Reform

LD0310012289 Warsaw PAP in English 1937 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 2—At today's session the PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] Political Bureau analysed and assessed a report on the course and results of a party poll on preparations for the 11th congress.

The bureau decided to present the second part of the 15th PUWP CC plenum with the poll's results and an assessment of views voiced by PUWP members on the current socio-political situation and the ongoing processes within the party.

The bureau got acquainted with reports and recommendations concerning transformations in the party's activity in the country's new socio-political conditions.

Those reports will be presented during a campaign before the 11th congress.

The bureau got acquainted with the assessment and results of debates of CC secretaries for ideology in Berlin on last Sept 21 and 22 and of CC secretaries for international affairs in Varna between last Sept 26 and 28.

ZSL Makes Statement on PSL Stand

LD2809225589 Warsaw PAP in English 2103 GMT 28 Sep 89

[UPP Statement (excerpts)—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 28—The leadership of the United Peasant Party [UPP] acquainted itself with the statement of Roman Bartoszcze delivered in the name of the provisional main executive committee of the PSL Polish Peasant Party on the current political situation in the peasant movement and adopted the following stand:

The reconstruction of an independent Polish Peasant Party, referring to the program adopted at the PSL congress in 1946, deeply rooted in christian tradition was and is our goal which we consistently pursue in line with the will of peasants. We firmly reject the assessment and criticism of the UPP contained in the statement. In the view of a majority of UPP members it does us wrong, is false and offensive. We think that our sincere intentions and goals are in line with the interests of peasants. There are pages in the history of the UPP which we decisively reject and confirm this in our action. One must note however that in the political system in which we functioned thus far, there was no place for another peasant party.

Today there is no such UPP as the PSL statement mentions. There is on the other hand a strong movement of renewal in our party which does away with everything that is fossilized, backward and discredited. The special UPP congress will ultimately square all accounts.

United Peasant Party Chapter Changes Name

LD0310020889 Warsaw PAP in English 1609 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 2—At its plenary sesion the United Peasant Party (UPP) organization in Kielce, south of Warsaw, decided to return to the programmatic assumptions and to the name of the Polish Peasant Party, once led by Wincenty Witos and Stanislaw Mikolajczyk. It also decided to keep the to-date organizational structure till the convening of the party's congress.

Also, the UPP organization in the Wroclaw province, south-western Poland, changed its name to the Polish Peasant Party at a recent session of the party's voivodship committee. The decisive majority of its members came out in favour of coming back to the ideological and programmatic assumptions of the Polish Peasant Party from 1946.

At its plenum the UPP Krakow committee passed a resolution calling for the return to the program and the name of the Polish Peasant Party and for the setting up of a strong, sovereign and national peasant party. They also came out for acceleration of the convening of the 11th extraordinary congress of the UPP, holding the peasant "round table" talks and convening a political congress of peasants unity still this year.

Labor, KPN Hold Meeting in Bydgoszcz

LD0210220789 Warsaw PAP in English 2108 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Bydgoszcz, Oct. 2—The Labour Party and the Confederation of Independent Poland KPN staged a political meeting in Bydgoszcz today held under the motto: Equality of chances for all political organizations.

During the meeting organizers collected signatures under two appeals addressed to the Sejm. In the first appeal organizers demanded the removal of all political organizations from work places, in the second the liquidation of a military airfield burdensome to Bydgoszcz residents. About several hundred people signed both appeals.

Niezabitowska 28 Sep News Conference Reported

AU0310082189 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 29 Sep 89 pp 1,3

[Report on news conference by Malgorzata Niezabitowska, government press spokesman, at the INTERPRESS Center in Warsaw on 28 September]

[Text] Malgorzata Niezabitowska, government spokesman, met Polish and foreign journalists at her first news conference, given on 28 September.

The conference was chaired by Henryk Wozniakowski, the government deputy spokesman. Opening the proceedings he began by introducing Malgorzata Niezabitowska to the gathered journalists.

"She is a journalist who is well known in Poland and abroad" he stated. "She worked for TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC right from its inception in 1981 up to the introduction of martial law. She then worked for the Catholic press and wrote for TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY and WIEZ. She was head of the social section on the first editorial board of PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI. She has also collaborated with various foreign news magazines of different political complexions, both in her own name and under assumed pseudonyms—magazines like PARIS MATCH and DIE WELTWOCHE. She has a long history of working with the brilliant photographer Tomasz Tomaszewski, who is also her husband, and with whom she published the book 'The Last Contemporary Polish Jews' which has also appeared in the United States, Switzerland, and Germany. The pair also worked for the NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC MAGAZINE, one of the largest magazines in the world, for which they produced a reportage entitled 'Discovering America.' This reportage is currently touring Poland in the form of a mobile exhibition. Their book on the Jews in Poland toured Europe in the same form. After the reappearance of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, she worked there until her appointment to her present post."

Malgorzata Niezabitowska then spoke to the assembled journalists. "I am very pleased to see you all here" she said. "I must say that I feel somewhat apprehensive because I am appearing publicly not in my own name, but in the name of the government. I am aware that from this moment whatever I may say may be used against this government. I would hate for such a thing to happen. I have been government spokesman for only 11 days. The success of these 11 days has been the fact that Henryk Wozniakowski and I, working together for at least 12 hours a day, have been able to find out just how much we were not aware of.

"Our meeting today is devoted to the information policy of the government. This subject stems not only from the nature of my official function, but equally from the fact that an elaboration of a new information system has a fundamental meaning for what is happening and what will happen in Poland. Timothy Garton-Ash, the brilliant English journalist and expert on Polish matters, when speaking about the nature of the task that faces Premier Mazowiecki's government, compared it to a situation where someone is hurtling in a car along a motorway during a rainstorm, trying to make his Lada car perform like a Mercedes, and on top of that there are another two persons inside fighting for control of the steering wheel. I consider the description very apposite but I have just one reservation, the steering wheel is firmly in the grip—and may this state of affairs long continue—of one set of hands. The general situation, however, is really very grave.

"The new members of the government were fully aware of the gravity of the situation facing the country when they assumed their posts. They did not realize, however, the tragic extent of the situation. I am not saying this in order to scaremonger, but to underline the fact that the strength of this government is not the army or the militia—which of course have to exist as in every other country—nor is it a dynamically performing administration, nor for that matter a well functioning economy. This government's only strength—its support and hope—is society, and the bond that has been created between the premier and the people. We know that the Poles are ready to make sacrifices. Taking advantage of the fact that I am appearing before the public for the very first time, in the name of the premier and the government I want to thank everyone from the bottom of my heart who has sent donations to the Social Initiatives Fund. Thus, we have this mutual trust. This trust has to be maintained by constant and mutual communication flowing both ways. Society has to know the state the country is in and what the government intends to do, or is doing. Government, as Premier Mazowiecki said, has to catch the mood of public opinion which must have a real impact on the way the country is run. The new information system should serve toward this end.

"I would like to relate another story. In the summer of 1981, on the first anniversary of August 1980, a Festival of Forbidden Songs took place in the Gdansk 'Olivia' hall. At the end of that festival Andrzej Rosiewicz took the stage surrounded by all the performers who had participated in the festival, and sang a song that in its drama and melody resembled a gospel hymn sang by American Negroes in the Southern States. After the first refrain, the 5,000-strong audience started chanting the refrain, and repeated it after every verse, until the end of the song. They continued chanting after the song had ended. I too was there singing that refrain and I continued to remember it during all the bad years that followed. It went like this: 'Truth, truth, truth, just like bread; truth, truth, truth, that is what we need. This is what the People want, and demand; for truth is holy, and so let it be'."

"Having stated my credo, I would now like to turn to more concrete matters. To put it as briefly as possible, we would like things to be different. Enormous political changes are taking place: Not just the government, but the entire political system has changed, and we want to change the information system too. The change in the format of the news conference is geared to this end. Social and political material is too complex and change is proceeding too rapidly for the old format of the conference to really be able to fulfill its proper role of providing information, especially as we do not intend to get involved in polemics and verbal clashes. No one person would be capable of mastering all the material and communicating it in an appropriate way and, besides, that surely is not necessary. We want to create a clear and open system in which journalists would have easy access to the actual sources of substantive information. Of course, the news conferences will seek to do this, and we imagine them focussing on specific topics. A time and place for the conference will be set every time and, apart from the two of us, experts in specific fields, as well as members of the government will take part in them. We have a new government, and we realize that you will have very many, detailed, concrete questions on all the areas that the government deals with. We want to introduce the government. There will shortly be news conferences with Izabella Cywinska, minister of culture and the arts, and with Aleksander Hall, the minister with responsibility for contacts with political parties and social organizations. We will, above all, deal with the economy, because that is the main thing that the government has to address and the major issue for society. The very important visit that Deputy Premier Balcerowicz is paying to New York means that we still cannot tell you about the reform program. We know that the program will be submitted shortly and that as soon as this happens, we will organize a news conference, which will probably be attended by Deputy Premier Balcerowicz himself. In addition, we also want to inform you about the state of our finances. This will be part of what Premier Mazowiecki described as the deep scar from the past. The government wants to tell society what it has found or, to be more accurate, what it has not found in the government's coffers.

"We would like the spokesmen of individual ministries and central and regional state administrative offices to have a more important role now. They are to provide information directly and, at the same time, to act as go-between in everyday contacts between the press and their superiors. I know that journalists experiences', including my own experiences, with spokesmen have been bad, even very bad. Their main role, at least that is how it seemed to us, was to block the flow of information rather than to provide it. This is changing now, although it cannot, of course, happen straightaway. Something very important is that our aims will have the support of individual ministers, and they will work toward making spokesmen competent and bold. Henry Wozniakowski and I will seek to report and comment on government work on an on-going basis. We do not want to act as apologists for the government, but, of course, if the need arises, we will seek to explain its decisions to public opinion."

M. Niezabitowska went on to say: "I would like to mention another two issues. They are of rather a general kind, but they are of enormous significance for informing the public. The first issue is that of censorship. Two days ago, at our request, the chairman of the Control of Press, Publishing, and Public Performances Main Office disclosed or, as people say, removed the veil of secrecy surrounding a report on the office's activities last year. The censor intervened 2,526 times last year, and this represented an increase of 13 percent in relation to the previous year. Almost 80 percent of the interventions concerned 20 publications out of a total of about 3,400 registered publications. These were primarily Catholic publications. The trend this year is toward fewer interventions by the censor. For example, in August 1988, the censor intervened on 198 occasions, whereas in August of this year, he intervened on 62 occasions. This stems, above all, from the 'roundtable' decisions, which have liberalized the provisions of the censorship law, as well as curtailments of department regulations. In the first 4 days after Premier Mazowiecki's appointment, the censor intervened on six occasions, whereas today, all the chairman of the department could say was that since then the censor had intervened in relation to three publications, including TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY. That is the actual state of affairs. As for the government's intentions, it will seek to abolish censorship, but in an evolutionary manner. A public draft amendment to the law on censorship has just been completed. It provides for the abolition of censorship with regard to monthlies and all publications that appear less than once a month, the abolition of censorship with respect to books, and the complete abolition of restrictions on circulation."

"The second problem essential to communication in society is the sale of newsprint. According to the agreements of the "roundtable," the then government bound itself to introduce a completely free market in paper from 1 January 1990. Premier Mazowiecki's government thinks this is the right way ahead, but not in the immediate future. Izabela Cywinska has written to the premier asking him to consider moving this deadline by a whole year. This is because the market in paper has completely collapsed. There is a shortfall of 86,000 tonnes of paper, that is 13 percent of the planned production target. There are no indications that we can expect any improvement in the foreseeable future. Given such a situation the present regulations must remain in place, and the government will only be changing the principles that govern the allocation of paper supplies. These will be more just and reflect the real strength of social forces. As we know the publishing world enjoys many privileges, as do many other spheres. The government considers that all sectors are equal and will be striving to totally eliminate these privileges.

"Before I end I wish to say a few more words about myself," continued M. Niezabitowska. "Premier Mazowiecki, when appointing me to this very difficult post, knew that I am no political or economic journalist, and that I have absolutely no experience in either of the two fields. I accepted the post because I could not refuse. I say this not with the intent of getting your understanding. I know you are here in order to get as much information out of me as possible and I promise that I shall only use self-defence as a last resort. Nevertheless, in the name of our mutual profession I would ask you to allow me some time to learn."

Next, questions were taken from the floor, which in accordance with the government spokesmen's wishes concentrated on the information policy of the government, and other personal matters.

Austrian Press: Can you describe the areas on which censorship has concentrated its efforts most recently?

Niezabitowska: Lately, censorship has intervened in matters mainly associated with military secrets. One of such interventions concerned a cartoon caricature, and the other a statement by Adam Michnik on the GDR.

PAP Foreign Department: What does Premier Mazowiecki's statement on the government's new information policy imply for the future of PAP?

Niezabitowska: PAP is a government agency. Changes which are occurring in all spheres of life—political, structural, and of a personnel nature—will also occur in PAP. Of course, this will be a process which will be carried out in a calm and slow manner. The premier has said that there will be no purges in PAP. At the present time I have nothing more to add to what I have just said.

Polish Television: When Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki presented Andrzej Drawicz, as the newly appointed chairman of the Radio and Television Committee, the premier stated that radio and television belongs to the government and could only receive directives from the government. Do you not think that this will be a change of one monopoly for another?

Niezabitowska: We all know what monopoly control does to radio and television. We are not afraid of changing one monopoly for another, if only for the reason that the present government is pluralistic—being composed of many parties that form a great coalition. In the past, the editor of a television news program had several sub-editors who helped him compile the program. Such decisions will now be taken at government level and the results will be communicated to Chairman Drawicz, who will be the only competent person who will be authorized to forward these results on. We realize that television has to be pluralistic. How this will look in practice will depend on Andrzej Drawicz. I spoke to him recently—as well as to the premier—and they both consider that this pluralism should not be dependent on a percentage points mechanism, that is to say, a strict mathematical division of "television slots." Pluralism, should create the opportunity of airing many matters from all points of view. The government's point of view will, of course, be strongly represented.

TRYBUNA OPOLSKA: After he had assumed office, Mr Mazowiecki firmly stressed the significance of local self-government bodies. It is very likely that elections to these bodies will be held soon. We know that the regional mass media will play a major role in preparing for these elections, and in presenting information on their work later. What kind of policy will the government have vis-a-vis regional radio and television centers and other mass media?

Niezabitowska: The government's policy vis-a-vis regional television centers will be the same as vis-a-vis the national center. The point is to achieve maximum pluralism here. As far as newspapers are concerned, the problem is very difficult because of the restricted availability of newsprint. So it is difficult to produce new newspapers, especially in a situation of rationing. However, I think the government's policy will be very open in this respect.

INTERPRESS: Can one expect major changes resulting in Poland's greater openness toward foreign media? Will there be broader contacts with foreign television networks, press corporations, and so on?

Niezabitowska: It is difficult to give any details right now. All I can say is that we want Poland to be as wide open as possible and have as many contacts with foreign countries as possible. We will create no obstacles when accrediting correspondents, even if they work for media which have not been welcome in Poland.

Radio Polonia: My question is addressed to you not in your capacity as minister, but in your capacity as journalist. It involves the dispute in TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC caused by the appointment of its editor in chief. This is something that interests the entire community of journalists. I would like to hear your personal opinion on this matter.

Niezabitowska: I think Lech Walesa and the National Executive Commission were entitled to replace the editor in chief. What I do not like and what upset the editorial team is the way in which this was done. We in the editorial team had not even heard about the change, and already one well-known reporter was going around town and forming a brand-new editorial team. He even telephoned me at the newspaper where I used to work, wanting me to become head of the reporting department. I think such conduct is unheard of, and my colleagues protested, because I was no longer with them, unfortunately. Lech Walesa said he was ready to apologize to the editorial team, but he would never change his mind. Personally, I think it is regrettable that this team, which had only just come into existence and had only just started to set up a newspaper, never had time to show what it can do.

TYGODNIK POLSKI: Will the government want to retain its second property, I mean RZECZPOSPOLITA? Are any major changes to the Censorship Act and "Press Law" envisaged?

Niezabitowska: We want RZECZPOSPOLITA to continue to be a government daily. However, we want to change the form in which the paper has appeared so far. We do not want it to be a newspaper for officials only, but one that is addressed to the public at large. We want it to be edited in a lively and professional manner.

A social draft of changes to the Censorship Act is being prepared right now by people who belonged to the mass media subteam at the "roundtable" talks. We have three government-supported amendments that will be presented before the Sejm soon. They concern the abolition of censorship of books, monthlies, and periodicals that have been in publication for a long time. The point is to completely abolish the restrictions on circulation.

EL PAIS: Does the government foresee the possibility of private radio and television stations in Poland?

Niezabitowska: The government has not considered this issue yet. As you very well know, right now the government is working like mad on ways of reforming the economy and salvaging the state. According to the 15 November 1984 Communications Act, the building and use of radio and television stations and transmitters is the sole prerogative of the state. An amendment to this act is being prepared. The draft foresees giving the minister of communications the power to grant concessions for the opening of radio and television stations. In this context, I wish to stress once again that the present government supports the principle of pluralism in every sphere. That is the present government's intention.

NATIONWIDE Agency: Several days ago, the Israeli premier issued his well-known statement about the Polish people. I want to ask not what you think of it, but whether the Polish Government has adopted any stance toward it.

Niezabitowska: I would turn the question around and treat it as personal. As far as the Polish Government is concerned, we believe that the entire conflict surrounding the Carmelite nuns is a matter between the church and the state. In any case, Premier Mazowiecki has tried to help resolve this issue several times. Right now, everything is heading in the right direction.

However, as far as the Polish-Jewish problem is concerned, I would like to make a personal statement. As you know, I was occupied with the Jewish problem for 5 years while working on the book "The Last Jews in Poland." I think the only way to achieve a reconciliation between the Poles and the Jews is to hold an open nationwide debate on the most painful issues. Reconciliation is possible only when we mutually discuss all difficult matters, such as the Kielce pogrom, the mass participation of Jews in postwar communist governments, March 1968, and various other topics. Then I think Poland's reputation as a clearly anti-Semitic country, an opinion that is not true but which I frequently encounter abroad, will change.

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI: In your first interview for GAZETA WYBORCZA, you said that that newspaper has priority in receiving information from you. I hope that was a slip of the tongue, and that all newspapers have the same priority.

Niezabitowska: It was not quite like that. I gave one interview simply because there were many things I had to consider and settle. For that reason, I did not want to give any meaningful interviews. Because I have friends in GAZETA WYBORCZA, they had priority for this personal interview. However, everyone has equal access to information.

RES PUBLICA: You said that censorship of books and periodicals would be lifted this year. When can one expect censorship of all periodicals to be abolished? I would also like more information on the distribution of paper, in other words who controls the distribution and how this is done.

Niezabitowska: The abolition of censorship will be possible when other legal instruments are amended, such as the penal code, wherein Articles 270 and 271, calling for severe sentences for insulting the Polish People's Republic and disseminating false information, will be abolished. Therefore, the abolition of censorship will be, as it were, the consequence of changes to the law, which will probably come about next year. Yesterday, Deputy Minister Strzembosz said that he foresees an amendment to the penal code, which includes the abolition of these articles.

We still do not know what the distribution of paper will be like. In any case, no single concern will receive half the available paper.

ILUSTROWANY KURIER POLSKI: Will you consider yourself personally responsible for information policy at lower levels of authority? Will announcements of your press conferences be issued further in advance? Will the conferences be held on the same days all the time? What are the plans in this sphere?

Niezabitowska: The "Press Law" itself gives me the privilege, even the duty, to supervise every single press spokesman all over the country. We want to change the entire system and way in which press spokesmen operate. I will examine this issue with my colleagues in the next few days. We will do so consistently, because a new role for spokesman forms the basis of new information policy. My news conferences will not be held regularly. Sometimes there might be 2 or 3 conferences a week, especially at the beginning, when there is a lot to explain. We will announce press conferences as far ahead as possible.

EXPRESS WIECZORNY: Has the government abandoned the legislative idea of placing radio and television under the Sejm's control?

Niezabitowska: I know nothing about plans to place radio and television under parliamentary control. At his meeting with the Radio and Television Committee, Premier Mazowiecki expressed himself very clearly about how he views the situation with this committee and who should be in charge of it.

GLOS ROBOTNICZY: Will employees of Polish sections of foreign radio stations be accredited to Poland? Has anyone in this category applied?

Niezabitowska: The Foreign Ministry has told me that representatives of Radio Free Europe have investigated this possibility. However, they have not filed any official application to be accredited. They will receive Polish entry visas without any problems. Our policy is to accredit anyone, without any differences.

SZTANDAR LUDU: There is much criticism of the Workers Publishing Cooperative among the political milieus with which you are connected. Administrative measures are even being called for. Will the foreseen rationing of paper be a form of control over this cooperative, or are other measures foreseen as well?

Niezabitowska: But the Workers Publishing Cooperative enjoys a series of privileges, especially tax concessions. However, the government's intention is to give every economic unit equal treatment and abolish all privileges. The Workers Publishing Cooperative has received enormous quantities of paper, probably at the expense of other publications. A fairer system of rationing has to be created here. Of course, the ideal situation is a free paper market, accompanied by suitable quantities thereof. There is no such thing as completely fair rationing. Such matters cancel each other out. Nevertheless, we will aim toward the kind of paper distribution which better suits the balance of social forces.

INTERPRESS: Have you any plans to meet spokesmen of other governments?

Niezabitowska: If any foreign government spokesman were to come to Poland, I would meet him with pleasure and willingly avail myself of his experience. Right now, I can watch other government spokesmen on video. My press office has prepared such video recordings for me as a teaching aid. However, going anywhere and meeting anyone is beyond my dreams. I do not even have enough time for my own child, because I leave the apartment when he is still asleep and come back when he is already asleep.

TAK I NIE: Are there any plans to replace all heads of regional radio and television centers soon? Will editors in chief of regional papers be replaced?

Niezabitowska: I have to repeat what Premier Mazowiecki has said several times—there will be no purges. We are planning no purge in the press, nor in television, nor in the state apparatus. Competence and, of course, loyalty, will be the governing criteria everywhere. It is up to Mr Drawicz who heads regional media centers. I think his approach is similar to that of Premier Mazowiecki, and this also concerns the editors in chief of the regional press.

PALESTINIAN PRESS AGENCY: You said you spent 5 years writing a book on the last Jews in Poland. Therefore I would like to know your personal view on the Israeli prime minister's statement.

Niezabitowska: Personally, I think the Israeli prime minister's statement places him on a par with anti-Semites, because he employs generalizations. After all, anti-Semites are accused of doing the same. One cannot talk about all Jews. One cannot say that all members of a given people have the same characteristics. Apart from that, I think he insulted the Polish people.

TRYBUNA LUDU: Do you not think a certain hitch in information policy has occurred? First the Petroleum Industry Center was blamed for the gasoline price increases, and then the minister of labor and social policy.

Niezabitowska: I do not think society should receive surprises. As far as the controversy surrounding Minister Kuron and the Petroleum Industry Center is concerned, the truth lies somewhere in between. We were faced with a kind of information gap. The entire operation of price increases was not carried out properly.

Polish Radio: Why have Messrs Zakrzewski, Tumanowicz, and Baranski been removed from our screens?

Niezabitowska: That is a question for Andrzej Drawicz to answer. It seems that they were not trusted.

VETO: Our readers, referring to well-informed circles, claim that a liter of gasoline will cost Z1,500 by the end of the month. Do you know anything about this?

Niezabitowska: No, I know nothing. But I do know that at the last Council of Ministers meeting, the premier asked to be told in advance of all price increases. The government's tendency is to increase the price of gasoline gradually, not abruptly. I think the information is false.

Bread, Dairy Products Prices Rise

LD0310021989 Warsaw PAP in English 1926 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 2—Prices for dairy products went up in many towns today. In Zamosc, eastern Poland, for instance, the price of 0.25 kg of cheapest butter rose from 1,405 zlotys to 2,230 zlotys while that of 0.25 kg extra quality butter—from 1,591 zlotys to 2,560 zlotys.

In Katowice, southern Poland, 0.25 kg of cream butter costs 2,840 zlotys as of today.

In Wroclaw, south-western Poland, prices of milk and dairy products rose by some 70 percent.

Prices for bread have risen in Warsaw for the fifth time since the introduction of market mechanisms into the food sector, this time by 20 percent on the average. The price for a loaf of cheapest bread rose from 285 zlotys to 344 zlotys.

Council of Ministers Adopts Economic Law

LD0310032189 Warsaw PAP in English 2210 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 2—The Council of Ministers which today conferred under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki adopted the draft law on special principles of socio-economic planning in 1990 and on amending certain laws.

The proposed regulations will precede comprehensive transformations of the central planning system connected with the introduction of market mechanisms. They will determine, in general terms, the role and function of planning in the now-reformed economy.

The essence of changes proposed in the planning system for 1990 consists in resignation from the traditional central annual plan and ensuing consolidation of financial plans, financial instruments of their realization, and also assumptions of the monetary-credit policy and the credit plan as proposed by the National Bank of Poland.

The assmption of the government's socio-economic policy will provide a basis for draft financial plans and—together with the assumptions of the monetary-credit policy by the National Bank of Poland—will create conditions to formulate economic plans by local authorities and independent economic units.

Economic and social problems to be tackled by the economic centre, such as central investments, centrally-financed import, remunerations in the budgetary sphere, will be solved in the form of an appropriate government resolution or the budget law. Liquidating the traditional annual plan, the government found it appropriate to annul the duty to work out local annual plans. Decision in this regard will be up to respective people's councils which will be empowered to draw up such plans.

The government adopted the draft law on amending certain provisions of the punishment execution code. The draft, which precedes work on comprehensive changes in this code, to be prepared by the committee for reforming the penal law, ensues from an urgent need to introduce new legal regulations concerning the convicts' work, meant as an inducement in this field.

The government also made a preliminary examination of draft amendments to the law on common courts of law which constitute an element of a comprehensive reform of the judiciary.

The draft law on naming the medical academy in Wroclaw after Silesian Pyasts was also adopted at today's meeting.

Finance Minister Balcerowicz on IMF Talks

LD2909023189 Warsaw PAP in English 2245 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 28—Having returned from the IMF and World Bank annual meeting in Washington, Vice-Premier Leszek Balcerowicz granted an interview to PAP in which he said, among other things:

The memorandum we have presented in Washington elaborates on the main elements contained in the prime minister's expose, intentions that have crystalised in the course of intensive work by the government and its economic committee (known as Kerm) during the recent two weeks.

We have informed our foreign partners how we imagined their support for the Polish reform programme. This approach encountered, I believe, understanding and friendly attitude because it is drastically different from that used in the 1970's when foreign credits were kind of bandage on the Polish economic difficulties.

We talked about the support for our economic programme in two periods. In the immediate period of two, three months we must concentrate on anti-inflation effort. We have come out with a proposal of giving us access to credits and we argued that this is indispensable for the preparation and implementation of our programme and for avoiding the growing economic laxness. This proposal has been received with understanding, though we cannot speak of concrete results at the moment.

At the turn of the years 1989/1990 we plan much greater changes including the decisive anti-inflation operation. We hope that the previously signed agreement with the IMF will already then trigger greater credit assistance.-

We have also proposed extra hard currency aid permitting to unify currency rates and stabilise them. We also expect credits from the World Bank connected with the institutional changes in the Polish economy.Let me stress, however, that in the approach of our partners a very stong link can be seen between what we are doing in this country and what they are ready to do for us. Any moves undermining our credibility, the feasibility of our programme and honesty of the declarations on starting a steadfast fight against inflation and limiting the wage increase rate, automatically reduce the size and chances of any aid from other countries.

We have pointed out that we cannot do three things at one time: control inflation, change the economic system, and improve the payment balance. We should concentrate on the two first areas. But to do it succesfuly and without high social tensions, we need a breather in serving the debt. I hope this approach will also meet with understanding, he said.

President Appoints Envoy to Malaysia

LD0210221189 Warsaw PAP in English 2111 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 2—President of the Polish People's Republic appointed Andrzej Zor Poland's ambassador to Malaysia.

Andrzej Zor, 49, a graduate of Warsaw University and the Foreign Service School of the Academy of Social Sciences. From 1985 to 1988 he was undersecretary of state at the Office of the Council of Ministers.

Foreign Minister Totu Meets UNGA Head

AU2809184089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1806 GMT 28 Sep 89

["President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania and President of UN General Assembly Exchange Messages"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, New York (AGERPRES) 28/9/1989—From the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, the president of the UN General Assembly, Joseph N. Garba was conveyed a warm salute and wishes of full success in fulfilling the highly responsible mission entrusted to him.

The president of the UN General Assembly conveyed President Nicolae Ceausescu a cordial salute and wishes of good health, and the Romanian people wishes of ever bigger successes in its country's multilateral development.

The exchange of messages was occasioned by the interview Romania's Foreign Affairs Minister Ioan Totu had with the president of the 44th session of the UN General Assembly.

A number of actions and initiatives of Romania were surveyed on the occasion regarding items on the agenda of the current session, as well as aspects related to the activity of the United Nations organization.

During the interview, President Joseph N. Garba was particularly appreciative of Romania's activity at the UN, through its realistic proposals that meet all peoples' interests, of the achievements scored by the Romanian people in various domains, expressing his admiration at Romania's reimbursement of its foreign debt.

Criticizes 'Nuclear Deterrence'

AU2909205389 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 30 Sep 89 p 6

["Considerations and Proposals of the Socialist Republic of Romania, of President Nicolae Ceausescu Regarding the Current World Situation and the Lines of Action for Radical Changes in the International Life—Presented by Foreign Minister Ioan Totu"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] United Nations—Romania's Foreign Minister, Ioan Totu, took the floor in the plenum of the United Nations General Assembly plenum.

Upon instructions from Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, I have the honor to present his and Romania's considerations and proposals regarding the current world situation and the lines of action for radical changes in the international life, for the settlement of the present-day world issues.

The evolution of events on the globe disclose two diametrically opposite tendencies. The peoples' concerted struggle, the powerfully mounting actions of public opinion, of the progressive political groups, for disarmament and peace, the United Nation's efforts have induced changes that resulted in a certain balance between the forces that work for detente, understanding and collaboration and the forces that are against.

In this connection important steps have been achieved in recent years toward disarmament and the negotiated settlement of international conflicts.

At the same time, the activity of interference in other states' domestic affairs has intensified, as some government quarters pursue political destabilization and the imposition of the terms of collaboration in harmony with their hegemonistic interests. The arms race continues, especially for the improvement and modernization of nuclear weapons and of other mass destruction weapons; some states promote in practice the "nuclear deterrence" doctrine, meaning the threat of force in the international life; the militarization of space has also started.

The international situation is seriously impaired by the world economic crisis, which in recent years has deepened still more the gap between rich countries and poor, developing countries. States of tension and conflicts also persist in some regions of the world, and some of them are ever growing.

I. Under the circumstances, Romania thinks it is necessary that new thinking and a new way of settling the international issues be promoted, relying upon strict observance of the principles of interstate relations, especially of the equality of rights, national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, and nonrecourse to force and threat of force, to mutual advantage.

In the light of these principles, provided for in the UN Charter and in other international documents, Romania proposes that the General Assembly debate and agree upon concrete measures regarding the "observance of the principles of peaceful coexistence among states with different sociopolitical systems, the elimination of any action and form of interference that pursue the imposition of certain mode of production and way of living."

Nowadays, when every people's right to freely choose its economic and social development path is acknowledged worldwide, relations of subordination cannot be admitted, nor can the actions started by some government quarters to distinguish in their relations with the socialist countries contingent upon the latter's changes in accordance with the Western countries' political and ideological interests.

It is also necessary that firm action be taken against the neocolonialist policy promoted by the imperialist forces that want to maintain the developing countries in a position of supplier of chief raw materials and a source of excess profits for the big international financial capital. To this end, Romania proposes that the current session should debate and agree upon measures for "the elimination from international economic relations of the practice of conditioning the development of commercial exchanges and of economic cooperation, of imposing measures of reprivatization of the public sector, the introduction of the "free market" mechanism and other structural economic changes specific to the capitalist economy." In conformity with the provisions of the "Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States," the United Nations is called upon to request that in their international relations governments respect each people's right to socioeconomic development in conformity with its specific historic and social conditions and with its sovereign options on organizing its home affairs as promoted in the independent policy practiced by each state.

Starting from the UN Charter provisions according to which all member states pledged to develop relationships among themselves in the spirit of friendship and mutual respect, Romania considers that the United Nations should work to the end of engaging the mass media in a broad collaboration in this field, combating any tendentious, false presentation of other peoples' way of living and working. In the light of this desideratum the world forum should discuss and adopt appropriate measures concerning "the responsibility of the governments, state and nongovernmental institutions, mass media in all countries for the promotion of relations of friendship and collaboration, of rapprochement and mutual respect between states and people by making an accurate and objective presentation of the realities in every country, of the efforts made by every people for its economic and social progress."

II. The developments 50 years ago proved that the policy of duplicity, of cession and compromise adopted by the great powers vis-a-vis fascism and Nazism, the lack of unity of peoples, of the anti-fascist and anti-war forces, allowed of the outbreak of the huge world conflagration.

Taking into consideration the lesson of history we cannot help being concerned about the fact that the rightist, neo-fascist organizations are now stepping up their activity, their racist, nationalist-chauvinist propaganda for the revision of borders.

That is why, all political and social forces should be mobilized for ensuring peace and security, preventing any act of aggression, and combating revanchist and neo-Nazi manifestations.

Starting from the fact that the fundamental issue of our epoch is the cessation of the arms race and the resolute passage to disarmament, nuclear in the main, as well as for the imperative demand for a growing UN role in questions related to disarmament and peace, Romania presents the current session with the following proposals and lines of action:

The adoption by the General Assembly of a call to nuclear states to halt the modernization and improvement of nuclear weapons and to give up the "nuclear deterrence" doctrine.

The passage to the negotiation of a general agreement on liquidating all nuclear weapons, involving the participation of the other states.

The cessation of all the nuclear weapons tests and the calling of an international conference on the extension of the 1963 treaty banning nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and underwater to underground tests as well. A renewal of the UN General Assembly's appeal to the USSR and the USA to conclude as soon as possible a treaty scrapping the strategic nuclear weapons by 50 percent.

The commitment of all countries attending the conference on disarmament in Geneva to the negotiations on banning the production and stockpiling of chemical weapons, in close relation with the talks on the elimination of nuclear weapons.

The adoption by the General Assembly of a call on the Vienna talks to end in agreements stipulating a deep cut, of at least 50 percent until the end of the century, of the forces, conventional arms and military budgets, under strict international control.

The proclamation by the General Assembly of 1990-1999 as the third disarmament decade which should determine: the curtailment and elimination of nuclear weapons until the end of the century, the halting of nuclear-weapon tests, the renunciation of outer space militarization, the establishment of nuclear- and chemical weapon-free zones in various parts of the world, the substantial limitation of conventional weaponry, troops and military spending.

III. With a view to healing the international political climate and ensuring detente and peace, Romania has always declared for the cessation of the conflicts in various parts of the world and the intensification of equitable solutions starting from the rigorous observance of the respective people's legitimate interests.

In keeping with this stance, Romania proposes that:

—A pledge assumed by states to give up the use of force among them, to firmly observe every people's right to choose its own development path free from any outside interference, be renewed within the UN.

—The United Nations should see to it that the actions taken to solve various conflicts do not bring about the liquidation of the progressive achievements of the peoples in the respective regions.

—The United Nations should back the organization in the shortest possible interval of an international conference on the Middle East with the participation of all countries concerned, the new state of Palestine and Israel included, as well as of the permanent members of the Security Council. The provisions of the Security Council Resolution 435 for the proclamation of Namibia's independence this year are fully implemented.

—As regards the UN's further commitment to the settlement of conflicts, we consider that UN observer or peace-keeping force should be resorted to only in cases of absolute necessity and with few expenses as possible on a voluntary basis which should be first of all incurred by the countries involved in the conflict and by the developed countries.

At this session too we reiterate our solidarity with and active support for the stands and initiatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea regarding the peaceful, democratic and independent unification of Korea.

IV. Starting from the fact that the world economic situation is extremely serious today as a result of the imperialist policy of inequality and oppression, of the inequitable financial-monetary policy, Romania considers that an essential requirement of world progress and peace is the resolution of the developing countries' foreign debt crisis first of all, the eradication of underdevelopment and the establishment of equitable economic relations among states.

As a developing country Romania is familiar with the consequences of the present state of affairs in the world economy and, especially, with the heavy burden of the foreign debt, one of the most serious problems facing the debtor countries.

Mobilizing its entire material and human potential, Romania managed to get rid of this burden in March 1989, which had a profound significance for the ensurance of the country's political and economic independence. It took great investment efforts during this decade in order to get this result. But in this way the repayment of the foreign debt did not affect the country's economic development programmes or the population's living standards and incomes.

Starting from our own experience and being aware of the practices used by the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and other big international banks which through their economic and political terms bring the destabilization to developing countries, and because of transfer of wealth from these countries to the main developed countries, we regard the radical improvement of the international credit and interest system as a top priority today.

To this end, Romania proposes the following:

1. The establishment of maximum, non-fluctuant interest rate of 4-5 percent on the credits granted by the IMF, IBRD and the big banks.

The volume of the outstanding credits should be recalculated on the basis of a maximum interest rate of 2-3 percent.

2. The IMF and the IBRD should renounce their colonialist-type programs of so-called economic readjustment in granting new credits, and especially the conditions concerning the reprivatization of productive units. Romania believes that the IMF and the IBRD should grant credits especially to the public, state and cooperative sector, with a view to ensuring the development of each developing country's own forces, their more rapid progress and the improvement of their peoples' living conditions. At the same time it should be mentioned that the granting of credits particularly in this sector offer bigger guarantees for the respective financial institutions.

3. The practice used by the World Bank and other banks which grant financial credits on condition that they take control of the raw materials production in various developing countries should be abolished. Life demonstrates that this method resorted to by the big international banks ensures great profits to financial capital through the plundering of the developing countries' riches.

4. Reasonable, equitable prices should be set to the raw materials supplied by the developing countries, so that the gap between them and the prices of imported industrial goods may be narrowed down and an end be put to the transfer of wealth from these countries to the developed countries.

Practice has shown that through the system of credits and high interest rates applied by the IMF, the IBRD and other banks, as well as through the price system used, at least 42 billion dollars were transferred from developing to developed countries in the last year alone.

Romania also advances these proposals in its capacity of member of the IMF and IBRD, refusing to partake in the neo-colonialist policy pursued by these financial institutions.

In order to revitalize international cooperation and revive the economic development of the countries lagging behind in the first place, the General Assembly special session of 1990 should be thoroughly prepared so that it may become a framework for negotiations between developed and developing countries, with a view to finding global solutions to questions related to underdevelopment, international financial and commercial relations, the developing countries' foreign debts.

Under the current international circumstances, dominated by serious problems generated by the arms race, underdevelopment, the continued policy of force and interference in internal affairs, the equal participation of all the states of the world in the settlement of these issues is more necessary than ever before.

In the spirit of Romania's foreign policy of active participation in the struggle for disarmament and peace, in the democratic settlement of complex problems of the contemporary world, the Romanian delegation expresses its decision to cooperate with the delegations of the other states so that, by joint efforts, in an atmosphere of understanding and mutual respect, the current session may open true prospects for solving the major issues of the international life.

For some radical changes to be made in the international life, as Nicolae Ceausescu, the president of the Socialist

Republic of Romania has recently underlined, the peoples and all democratic, progressive forces everywhere should do everything they can to ensure the triumph of reason, the passage to general disarmament, the peaceful, negotiated settlement of conflicts, and equal collaboration among all nations.

Romanian Days of Culture Close in Moscow

AU2809193289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1825 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow (AGERPRES) 28/9/1989—The Days of Romanian Culture in the USSR, an event dedicated to the 45th anniversary of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and natioal liberation concluded on 28 September. It offered a comprehensive image of the level reached by the Romanian culture and art.

Hosted over 18-28 September by 20 large cities among which Moscow, Kiev, Kishinev, Kharkov, Kuibyshev, Baku, Donetsk, Novosibirsk, Alma Ata the events within the Days of the Romanian Culture were participated in by renowned artistic ensembles and soloists of Romania. The Soviet public could also see exhibitions of modern paintings, books, sculptures and tapistry, of contemporary architecture, films. Literary evenings, meetings of representatives of creative artists' unions, round table conferences on current concerns in literature and music were organized also attended by personalities of the Romanian culture present in the Soviet Union for the occasion.

The symphonic orchestra of the "George Enescu" Philharmonic and the Romanian Rhapsody Folk Ensemble gave performances in several towns of the USSR.

The Days of the Romanian Culture in the USSR went down as an important moment in the chronicle of the traditional Romanian-Soviet relations, contributing to a better knowledge and understanding between the peoples of the two countries.

Bulgaria Sends Message of Thanks to Leaders

AU2909144889 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 27 Sep 89 p 5

[Message from Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, and Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers, to Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu and Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade Constantin [illegible]alescu, prime minister of the Government of the [illegible]alist Republic of Romania

Esteemed Comrades: We want to express cordial thanks to you, the RCP Central Committee, the State Council and Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and to the whole Romanian people for the congratulations and warm wishes conveyed on the 45th anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria.

We fully share your conviction that the many-sided relations between the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and the RCP, and between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Socialist Republic of Romania will continue to develop and intensify in the interest of the cause of socialism, cooperation in the Balkans and in Europe, and in the interest of peace, security throughout the world, and the well-being of our two peoples.

We take this opportunity to once again wish you, dear Comrades, and the whole Romanian people even greater successes in implementing the decisions adopted at the 13th RCP Congress aimed at building the comprehensively developed socialist society in your country.

Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria; Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria

Dinca Attends Event Marking PRC Anniversary

AU2809192689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1850 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 28/9/1989—On the 40th anniversary of the proclamation of the People's Republic of China a festive meeting was arranged in Romania's capital on Thursday, 28 September by the Bucharest Municipality RCP [Romanian Communist Party] Committee.

The meeting was attended by Ion Dinca, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP, first deputy prime minister, by executives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, of other ministries, by party activists, executives of mass and public organizations, representatives of the cultural and artistic life, working people in Bucharest enterprises.

Present were members of the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in Romania.

Taking the floor, Ion Popescu-Puturi, member of the CC of the RCP, chairman of the Romanian-Chinese Friendship Association, underscored the significance of the proclamation of the People's Republic of China, an event which sanctioned the victory of the people's revolution in that country, opening a new era in China's multimillenary history the era of its multilateral development on the path of socialism. Reference was made to the deep revolutionary changes in the last four decades, to the vast constructive activity of the working masses under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, among which are the creation and generalization of the socialist relations of production, the achievement of an ample industrialization process, the development and modernization of agriculture, the powerful impetus given to science and technology and as an outcome of the successes scored in those fields the substantial improvement of the living standard of the population in towns and villages.

Further, the speaker showed that in keeping with its principled and consistent policy to develop relations with all socialist countries Romania highly appreciates the friendship and multilateral collaboration with the People's Republic of China, with the Chinese people, to which it is linked by old and rich traditions of solidarity in the fight against oppression and foreign domination to win liberty and national independence. In that context the speaker said: The numerous Romanian-Chinese summit meetings occasioned by the friendly official visits Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, together with Mrs Elena Ceausescu paid to the People's Republic of China as well as by the friendly official visits the Chinese party and state leaders paid to Romania represented highly significant moments in the evolution of the bilateral relations, ensured the permanent and consistent character of those relations, opening new prospects to the development of the ties between Romania and China.

Romania and China collaborate on the international plane, too, declaring for the defence of peace, for the abolition of the policy of threat and use of force, for the settlement of the litigious issues among states only by negotiations, for the liquidation of underdevelopment and the building of a new international economic order, for the observance of the peoples' national independence, of their sacred right to develop freely, in accord with their own interests and aspirations.

The RCP and the Romanian people highly appreciate the Chinese people's outstanding achievements in socialist years, their sustained efforts to overcome any obstacles on the path of development, for ensuring the welfare and progress of all working people, for fulfilling the targets of their homeland's socialist development.

Further, the floor was taken by the ambassador of the People's Republic of China to Bucharest, Wang Jinqing, who emphasized the historic significance of the event forty years ago which opened a new era in China's development.

Making reference to the traditional relations of friendship, solidarity and collaboration between the two parties, countries and peoples, the ambassador showed that those ties are highly appreciated in the People's Republic of China and expressed the belief that they would develop even more powerfully in the future.

Giosan Receives Zambian Delegation 25 Sep

AU2509193089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1826 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 25/9/1989—A Zambian parliamentary delegation led by Fwanyanga Matale Mulikita, speaker of the National Assembly of the Republic of Zambia, paid a visit to Romania at the invitation of the Grand National Assembly.

On September 25 the delegation were received by Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly.

On the occasion reference was made to the good relations of friendship and collaboration established between Romania and Zambia, stress being laid on the decisive role of the summit meetings and talks in the expansion and diversification of the Romanian-Zambian ties. Emphasis was also placed on the contribution the legislative fora in the two countries can make to the development of the cooperation in fields of mutual interest and the wish was expressed to intensify the bilateral collaboration for the settlement of the questions confronting mankind, for the creation of a climate of peace and understandinv all over the world.

The Zambian parliamentarians also had interviews at the headquarters of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and of the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation.

Loncar Cancels UN Meeting With Albania's Malile

LD0310074189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0242 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] UN, 3 Oct (TANJUG)—Federal Secretary for Foreign affairs Budimir Loncar, who is leading the Yugoslav delegation at the UN General Assembly session, has cancelled a meeting scheduled with Albanian Minister of Foreign Affairs Reis Malile, at the headquarters of the world organization because of yesterday's crude attack by the Albanian foreign minister on Yugoslavia.

Reis Malile spoke yesterday at the world assembly session about alleged terror against members of the Albanian nationality in Kosovo and he told a series of lies about Yugoslav policy and the situation in Kosovo.

Ambassador Dragoslav Pejic, the head of the Yugoslav mission at the UN, using his right to reply, characterized Malile's speech as a flagrant interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia and the stimulation of members of the Albanian nationality in Kosovo to separatism. The ultimate aim of this policy of Tirana's is the secession of Kosovo and the creation of Greater Albania, Pejic also said.

UN Rep Responds to 'Attack'

LD0310101189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0120 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] United Nations, October 2 (TANJUG)—Albania has not changed its policy of flagrant interference in internal affairs of Yugoslavia and instigation of Yugoslav citizens-members of the Albanian national minority to separatism, said Yugoslavia's UN representative ambassador Dragoslav Pejic here on Monday.

Taking the floor in the debate at the 44th regular session of the UN General Assembly, Ambassador Pejic described as false and absurd the charges made against Yugoslavia earlier today by Albanian Foreign Minister Reis Malile.

This morning Malile used the UN rostrum for another attack on Yugoslavia by repeating the charges of alleged violation of the rights of members of the Albanian national minority in Yugoslavia's Kosovo Province.

In his speech Ambassador Pejic asked what moral rights to lecture on human rights had the representative of a country known for mass violations of those rights and for a brutal repression of those who think otherwise, a country which has for years rejected any cooperation with the human rights' commission and other international forums.

"I believe that Albania would better serve the cause if its people and its own international prestige if it ensured to its citizens at least a part of the civil rights and freedoms that the (ethnic) Albanians, together with the members of other Yugoslav peoples, enjoy in Yugoslavia," said Ambassador Pejic.

On the actual position of ethnic Albanians in Yugoslavia, he said they are proportionally represented on all bodies in the Kosovo Province, the Republic of Serbia and the federation, the Armed Forces and diplomacy.

The Yugoslav representative cited the figure of about 50,000 students at Pristina University and pointed out that this was the world's unique institution of its kind with instruction in the language of a national minority.

Yugoslavia urges both bilateral and multilateral cooperation among the Balkan countries. On the other hand, Albanian is continuing its political campaign which has escalated into an open support and abetting of separatist groups in the Kosovo Province aimed at setting up the so-called greater Albania on a part of Yugoslavia's state territory, Ambassador Pejic said.

Every country has the right to protect its sovereignty and territorial integrity and Yugoslavia shall do the same, while ensuring all rights to the nations and national minorities living on its territory, said Ambassador Pejic.

Defense Secretariat Submits Opinion on Slovenia

AU0210152889 Ljubljana MLADINA in Slovene No. 33, 29 Sep 89 p 7

["Stances of the Defense Ministry," published in Serbo-Croatian]

[Text] *Last week or, more precisely, on 21 September 1989, the Federal Secretariat for People's [Ljudska] Defense compiled its views and proposals in connection with the disputed amendments to the Constitution of the SR [Socialist Republic] of Slovenia, and submitted them to the SFRY Presidency. On instructions from its president, Dr Janez Drnovsek, the state Presidency acquainted the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia and the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia with this paper, which we find very difficult to call a document. On Monday 25 September, members of the Constitutional Commission of the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia also acquainted themselves with these stances of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, but they did not discuss them because the stances were labeled "strictly confidential."*

Despite interdiction, we publish here the integral text and original wording of the strictly confidential opinion of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense. It is necessary to publish the opinion of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense mainly for two reasons:

First, in order to call attention to the untenable practice of the federal organs, this time the defense ministry, of classifying material as secret in order to conceal political opinions that are important for the public;

And second, in order to reveal the scenario of the campaign being waged in the federal capital against the amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Slovenia. The fact is that, quite apart from the well-known empty phrases, this text shows that the interventionist sessions of *the federal state and political organs taking place this week are being convened in accordance with the proposals of a ministry that is predominantly in the hands of a shogun-like military authority instead of civilians.*

To the SFRY Presidency—Urgent, to be Delivered Immediately.

Opinion on the Constitutional and Legal Consequences of the Adoption of the Constitutional Amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Slovenia and Proposal of Measures.

I. The adoption of the amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Slovenia, which are in conflict with the SFRY Constitution, would jeopardize, among other things, the fulfillment of the functions of the SFRY Armed Forces, including the following most significant functions:

1. The proclamation by a republic of the right of secession and association creates the constitutional grounds for a direct threat to the teritorial integrity of the SFRY. The Armed Forces are thereby prevented from accomplishing their basic tasks of protecting the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of the SFRY. A constitutional alteration of the SFRY borders is only possible on the basis of agreement of all republics and provinces or on the basis of a general SFRY referendum.

2. The provision stipulating that in peacetime the Armed Forces may not be employed to prevent or eliminate a state of emergency in the territory of the SR of Slovenia without the consent of the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia is contrary to the unity of the Armed Forces, a unity guaranteed by the SFRY Constitution and based on the unified leadership and command of the Armed Forces of the SFRY (SFRY Constitution, Basic Principles, section VI, paragraph 2).

Determination of the jurisdiction of the Assembly and Presidency of the SR of Slovenia with respect to the employment of the Armed Forces would violate the constitutional jurisdiction of the Federation in this regard because the leadership and command of the SFRY Armed Forces and the assertion of the supreme command of the Armed Forces both in peacetime and in war fall under the exclusive jurisdiction of the organs of the Federation (SFRY Constitution, Article 281, Paragraph 1, Point 6) [numbering as published].

3. Limiting the rights of the SFRY Presidency with respect to the proclamation of a state of emergency and the undertaking of special measures in certain emergency situations, as well as limiting its rights to employ the Armed Forces in the entire territory of the SFRY when conditions for this exist and when the possible need for it become evident (Law on All-People's Defense, Article 6, Paragraph 3), undermines the established foundations of the all-people's defense system and of the leadership and command system of the Armed Forces. The leadership and command of the Armed Forces would be **extremely ineffective because the consent of the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia would have to be obtained beforehand even for the employment of the smallest unit** and this consent would have to be obtained in a situation requiring **quick reaction** and effective undertaking of necessary measures for the protection of the constitutional system and the country's security. If a special authorization were required for the territory of the SR of Slovenia to proclaim a state of emergency and introduce special measures, it would follow from this that the federal organs would find themselves in the position of merely observing events in the SR of Slovenia, including events that threatened the security and integrity of the entire country, because they would not be allowed to interfere in the internal affairs of that republic. It is obvious that this solution prevents the Armed Forces from accomplishing their basic tasks and that it is contrary to the spirit of the federation as a unified state.

4. If the common needs of the Federation or the Yugoslav People's Army were to be financed solely on the basis of the evaluation of the financial capability and the need of each federal unit to have its own development, which is proclaimed in an amendment to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, the joint interests in the Federation could not be realized. This would indirectly endanger the financing of the Yugoslav People's Army and its activity as the joint armed force of all peoples and nationalities in Yugoslavia, and of all working people and citizens.

5. Other proposed provisions in the amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia which are at variance with the SFRY Constitution, such as the provision on the use of language in the work of federal organs on the territory of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and the validity of their documents, also deserve attention.

II. 1. The adoption of the constitutional amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia which are at variance with the SFRY Constitution would undermine the unity and completeness of the constitutional system, would call its consistency into question, and make its implementation on the entire territory of the SFRY impossible. The proposed provisions call into question the international subjectivity [subjektivitet] of the SFRY as a state. They may also have an unfavorable influence on the readiness to defend common interests that all sociopolitical communities realize within the SFRY, and thereby weaken the concept of all-people's defense which is the basis of the overall system of the country's defense.

2. The adoption of the controversial amendments would touch off the tendencies to resolve social controversies without the SFRY Constitution. This would set a precedent on the basis of which the way out of the present crisis and the overcoming of it would be sought through instruments and measures which are not based on the SFRY Constitution but are outside it, which is contrary to the interests of the SFRY as a whole.

3. Legalizing the right of republics to have constitutions which are at variance with the SFRY Constitution makes it impossible for the Armed Forces to realize their basic function of protecting the social setup established by the SFRY Constitution. Such a situation must not be permitted and a decisive role and **responsibility** in this is borne by the SFRY Presidency as the highest organ of leading and commanding the Armed Forces of the SFRY. Therefore, we suggest that the SFRY Presidency undertake all measures and activities to avert such a situation, to **preclude it, and to prevent it.**

III. Proceeding from the constitutional principle (Article 205 of the SFRY Constitution) that concern for constitutionality and legality is the duty of all organs of sociopolitical communities and all holders of self-managing, public, and other social functions, we suggest the following:

1. That the SFRY Presidency, in conformity with its constitutional functions, should ask for and collect the stances and assessments of all responsible federal organs about the proposed amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia which contain some provisions contrary to the SFRY Constitution. One should first of all ask **the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia and the Federal Executive Council** for this opinion.

The Federal Secretariat for National Defense has sent the SFRY Presidency its assessment of the controversial amendments **in time**.

2. On the basis of the collected assessments and opinions, it would be necessary to do the following:

—to convoke and hold a session of the **Council for the Protection of the Constitutional Order** [name as published] at which the Council would establish and propose measures which the SFRY Presidency **should** undertake;

—in conformity with the constitutional authority from Article 318 of the SFRY Constitution, to inform the **SFRY Assembly** about the situation that has arisen and the problems pertaining to the internal and foreign policy that have been triggered thereby, and to suggest that it urgently **convoke** a session in order to discuss this question and take its stand on it and, as the highest organ of power, make a corresponding decision within the rights and obligations of the Federation.

3. Either by direct contacts with the corresponding representatives of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia or in some other way, the SFRY Presidency should ensure that the above-mentioned activities are carried out before **the adoption of the constitutional amendments** in the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia.

[Signed] The Federal Secretariat for National Defense

Slovenia Marks Republic's 'Statehood Day'

AU0310102789 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] Today, in front of the Preseren Monument in Ljubljana, the citizens of Slovenia are marking the day of statehood of the republic. The City Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People has appealed to all the citizens of Yugoslavia for tolerance and mutual understanding.

By adopting the amendments to the Slovene Constitution, the citizens of this republic have written down and confirmed what must be an inalianble right of every nation in Yugoslavia as a socialist country.

This right was given to us Slovenes by our history. We have primarily won it through our own efforts and in no different way than any other Yugoslav peoples, the proclamation states, among other things.

National Assembly Chambers Hold Joint Session

Markovic Presents Economic Plan

AU2909103689 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0901 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Speech by Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, at a joint session of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly in Belgrade—live]

[Text] President, Comrade delegates: As we all know, we have been in a deep crisis for several years. After long hesitation, we have finally realized that the causes of our crisis are multifaceted and we cannot get out of the crisis by patching up the system. It is necessary for us to create a new economically efficient and democratic society and construct a quite new type of socialism. It is not possible to secure such a society and such development without a thorough reform of the economic system, which will ensure economic efficiency, and of the political system, which should provide political democracy with the individual at its center.

These are two sides of the same coin without which it is not possible to resolve the problems that have amassed in our society, provide modern development, and successfully join international trends. But the construction of such a society and such socialism requires us to rid ourselves of old misconceptions and doctrinaire views, which is something that is still not going easily.

Proceeding from these three accepted strategic reform orientations, the Federal Executive Council has worked along three lines in parallel; on the construction of a new economic system, on the planning and implementation of current economic policy measures; and on the formulation of a new concept of development strategy. In this respect, we have come up against numerous difficulties and burdens from the past, with all the political conditions and ambience in which this is all taking place and in which, (?as you know), on the one hand, social tensions are increasing and, on the other, they are being politicized; political conflicts and national, interrepublic, and nationalistic ones are increasing. I would say that there is almost no field in which there is nothing negative in the sense of the prerequisites for all the things that must happen as major changes in our society.

In such conditions, it is of course exceptionally difficult and complex—with all the limits that such an ambience brings and with all the burdens, ranging from those concerning the ideology in people's heads and even to material ones—to make the turn-around that we have embarked on.

The FEC has taken an orientation to enter the fight in all fields simultaneously, at the same time, and through combining systemic short-term and long-term measures and macroeconomic and developmental policies, anticipating in this respect some solutions that are yet to come, to create systemic and material conditions to plan and implement economic reform and find the way out of the crisis. This way out of the crisis, as every citizen nowadays knows, can be neither quick nor easy. The price of this way out is very high and it must be paid.

Comrades, since at this session we are talking about one stage of the reform of our society, its second stage, particularly in the field of the economy as a part of the process of the entire changes and formation of a new system, allow me first of all to point out the problems of the transfer to a market economy; what is necessary for this, what has been done, and what more in our opinion should be done in order to round off the system specific to such an economy.

The character of the new system will be decided by changes on five points; the pluralism of ownership and the relations that are constructed on it, the position of enterprises in the conditions of pluralism of ownership and an integrated market, entrepreneurship, the separation of politics and economics, and the state in the role of the regulator of economic trends through a macroeconomic management of the economy. In addition to the economic system, of decisive importance is an active economic policy which protects the independence of the enterprises of an integrated market and through its macroeconomic decisions aids the creation of an ambience in which economic entities are forced and urged to make rational, business, and developmental decisions in conditions of competition.

We have already gone a large part of the way in planning the legal form of the new economic system. Pluralism of ownership has been incorporated in the law even though there are still some open questions on the actual owners [titulari] of social property and economic responsibility for its use, as well as the transformation of ownership into other forms of ownership, about which more will be said later. An institutional basis has been created for the legal and economic setting up of enterprises in the field of production, trade, and monetary transactions. Opportunities have been created for different forms of organizing appropriate to the interests of (?special) economic entities and the nature of their business activities. The way to mixed ownership has been opened up, as well as the new way of management based on this. The function of management has been divorced from the function of administration. Opportunities have been created for various types of enterpreneurship. The equal treatment of foreigners is being introduced into the system. The artificial border between the economic and noneconomic fields are being wiped away. In a market economy, the role of monetary authorities, the banking system, and financial and fiscal system is of decisive importance for the success of business operations, the evaluation of results, and the economic accountability of enterprises.

A consistent basis has been constructed in these fields for the successful redirecting of enterprises to market operations. Laws are to be found in the SFRY Assembly which regulate the essence of economic relations with foreign countries, foreign currency operations, and foreign trade operations, except for credit relations with foreign countries on which intensive work is being prepared. The assembly has also been presented with six laws on the market of money and capital, on securities, on labor relations—which was adopted only yesterday—on prices, on commodity reserves, and their financing, which regulate the other questions of an integrated market, like goods, capital, and labor in all its segments and creates the framework and backbone for its establishment and construction.

It is essential that all these laws are adopted at this session in order to begin the process of the functioning of the capital market, the labor market, and the real commodities market. This also creates systemic prerequisites for the next stage of the reform of our society, for the transition to the new system itself and the functioning of all its institutions and mechanisms, and the adaptation of all entities to the new elements that this system requires and imposes.

A real realization of the process of change is beginning, which will open the way not only for the way out of the crisis and the crushing of inflation as the expression of this crisis, but also for the new development [words indistinct] of a politically more democratic society in which we have the right to live better, richer, and freer.

We must, however, be aware that the way to this is full of obstacles, difficulties, and problems. Many sacrifices will have to be made for us to rid ourselves of (?pressure), burdens, habits, the remnants of the old, the readiness to give privileges, laziness, irresponsibility, failed programs, a return to the past, irrational ideas, and unrealistic promises. We must all be engaged in all sectors, at all levels, and in all places in embarking on decisive changes as soon as possible in all sectors of life and work in our country by using the new systemic solutions. For example, the new setting up of enterprises is not just (?changing their nature). They should be adapted to the new conditions in all segments, their programs, products, technologies, organization, renumeration, and entrepreneurship and should eliminate mistakes, deficits, losses, and surpluses of goods, material, and even some labor.

This is a difficult process, which is all the harder because in the course of its realization one has also to overcome inflation, which is threatening to halt the course of the reform processes. As a consequence, very complex processes and difficult tasks lie ahead of us.

First: the construction of new market institutions and mechanisms.

Second: the identification and elimination of serious material inheritances, which are concentrated in the large deficits of the state, banks, and a part of the economy and in certain parts of the country.

Third: the adaptation to the new conditions by all entities, enterprises, banks, shops, and the social sector of the state, at all levels from the communes, in particular, to the federation.

Fourth: cadre changes and the strengthening of people's motivation, competition, knowledge, ability, results, innovation, risks, and the identification of and distinguishing between the capable and the incompetent, workers and nonworkers, fighters for actual changes and politickers who want to build their own power on social problems and tensions and maintain their privileges.

Five: the reform of the state, especially the federal state, so that it can conduct a macroeconomic policy that will place stress on monetary and fiscal policy, as well as the policy concerning the economic policy with other countries, so that it can strengthen its legal function in the direction of the further broadening of human freedoms under the conditions of the new system.

Six: Development on the essentially new bases, with the stress on changes in the economic structure, on an economically efficient and capable structure for joining the world economic contest. This kind of development is the only realistic precondition for solving the accumulated social problems. Without these preconditions and changes, as well as the process which we must embark on, the economy will not be able to adapt to the real market way of conducting economic activities, and the economic policy will not be able to fully apply all the new methods of regulating economic trends.

Comrades, bearing in mind what I have already said, I will present the basic stances of the Federal Executive Council regarding all domains of the economic system and economic policy so that in this light you can assess the justification and validity of the proposed measures, as well as those that will follow.

First: I will proceed from the most delicate problem of how to regulate labor relations in our country so that we can arrive at a modern and specific labor market, so that we can resolve the essential problems of how to value work and the results of work objectively, and how to regulate these relations so as to (?uphold) the right of the workers to self-management and reaffirm self-management in a new ambience.

We have created opportunities for the functioning of a labor market, just as we have very consistently created opportunities for the founding of the capital market. These changes ensure in a new way a unified way of regulating the realization of basic workers' rights. They establish the obligation to train and advance, ensure manpower mobility, competition in knowledge and ability, and remuneration of work, and they exclude any monopoly on a work place, whose stability is conditional upon the results of work.

These changes give greater powers to the management structure as well as greater accountability for managing the firms. They facilitate the development of entrepreneurship, create the preconditions for dealing with the problems of workers who have lost their jobs due to economic and technological improvements, and so forth.

The Law on Labor Relations, which was adopted yesterday, envisages collective agreements in the branches of the economy in which the price of labor for certain types of jobs will be agreed. This will avoid the current arbitrariness in distributing income and determining the workers' personal income. The successful application of these collective agreements requires the existence of partners that agree, on the one hand, on protecting jobs and, on the other, on the accumulation of capital. In the final negotiations, these partners must consist of the reorganized trade unions and management organs, (?and other) associations in the reorganized chamber of economy.

We are talking about agreements between the partners to the accords within the limits of material possibilities, which will be determined by the market on the basis of objectively opposed interests. What should be consumed from the newly created value today, and what should be left for development, for the future? This job must be started with determination at once.

In the transitional period, before there is a labor market and collective agreements, which we need to introduce as soon as possible, the Federal Executive Council has decided to insist on the consistent application of social agreements on the distribution of income, true as part of the consensus economy, because this is all that we have at present, and on respecting the criteria and parameters that have been envisaged by this.

In doing so, the proposals made that, through the expansion of the starting (?values) of [words indistinct] the results properly prepared and presented, are logical and in accordance with the essence of the system which we are developing. In doing so we also bore in mind the fact that the presented proposals should erect a barrier to unreasonable increases in personal incomes, that is, the proposals that in insolvent [nelikvidan] organizations the paying out of personal incomes, except those that are guaranteed, will be the last item on the list; that the current practice of providing loans to insolvent organizations to pay out personal incomes will be prevented; that the paying out of personal incomes will be done once a month; that there will be a firm monetary policy which will particularly affect work organizations with bad economic results and which, despite such results, have been increasing personal incomes more often and by more than those who have been operating successfully. The Federal Executive Council will promptly monitor all the trends and react accordingly.

Second: The next field is the financial system. The Federal Executive Council has paid particular attention to the regulation of the situation in the monetary sphere and for this purpose it has taken a number of measures. Above all, the institutional foundation has been created for setting up the National Bank of Yugoslavia—which constitutes the backbone of this system—as a proper monetary authority, and for establishing its full autonomy. Conditions have been created for an efficient performance of its function as well.

Banks are set up as any other enterprise that operates on the economic principles of profitability, solvency, security, and making a profit. Bills have been proposed that would set up a money, capital, and securities market. In this way conditions have been created so that business operations in this entire field will be based on market machinery. This is the basis on which the discount rate of the National Bank and the interest rates for short-term and long-term loans, as well as the exchange rate of the dinar, will be formed.

For this financial and banking system it is now important that all those who trade in goods and capital strictly and promptly fulfill their commitments and that they bear all the inevitable economic and other consequences if they fail to do so. The Federal Executive Council therefore insists that all the payment instruments which make irregular operations possible and prolong the present situation should be abolished.

Following an analysis, it has been established that great disorder prevails in the monetary sphere, and that the National Bank of Yugoslavia under the given circumstances cannot efficiently manage the monetary aggregates. The expansive monetary policy has therefore been one of the basic generators of inflation for many years. Therefore the changes in this field must begin with the National Bank because it is far from being able to perform its proper function, precisely because of the situation in the economy and in the commercial banks. It has been the practice of many years that budgets are covered with the issue of money and that the National Bank is given responsibilities that do not belong to a monetary institution. The habit of using an expansive monetary policy to postpone the solving of the real problems of economic and state finances is another reason.

These changes of the position and function of the National Bank are under way, and they must be completed as soon as possible. The National Bank will no longer help the budgets in the present way; it will cease to take up—in place of the federation—debts, foreign exchange losses, and all other obligations that are not a part of its business; stop approving selective loans for various branches of the economy and various purposes; supplying the dinar funds as a counterpart to the surplus on the clearing account; advancing loans to the banks although these fail to collect their claims, and so on.

All the preparations have been completed so that, as soon as the laws are adopted—which means in October this year—a market for money, capital, and security will be set up. This market will make it possible to overcome the present practice of an arbitrary formation of the rates of interest and of the discount rate policy of the National Bank of Yugoslavia.

The level of the real rate of interest which often exceeds 20 percent is more a result of the banks striving to cover the losses on their accounts than (?a result of the monetary market). It is therefore essential that, in keeping with the legal obligations, by the end of the year all banks prepare their accounts and that they determine the true value of their overall assets, so that the problem of the bank deficit should be tackled in the way it is usually done in a market economy, with the cooperation of interested domestic and foreign partners and of the state (?to the extent possible).

With this aim in mind, we will strive to obtain foreign financial aid of (?at least) $1 billion to make good the deficit in the banking system. This aid should be used under strictly defined economic criteria that would be slightly relaxed for the banks in the underdeveloped socialist republics and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, and should entail the consequences implied by such an intervention. This is the way to make banking sound.

Third: Great changes are ahead of us in the sphere of state finances and the fiscal system. The starting principles of sound state finances are that all public expenditure in all budgets and accounts of self-managing interest communities should be covered by real revenue, and that the budget is a single entity.

Consistent with this view, the Federal Executive Council has already competed this first task, or rather, at its proposal, the SFRY assembly has adopted a single budget at the federal level. In this way the expenditure in the federal budget has been considerably reduced and the efficiency of the use of the budget funds has been essentially increased, and this contributes to the stabilization of the economy.

However, not all the republics and provinces have yet acted in this sense, and the communes have not acted at all. I consider it essential that they do so as soon as possible.

We are now confronted with the task of solving the very difficult problem of the inherited budget deficits of all the sociopolitical communities and in the accounts of the self-managing interest communities, especially in the federation and the National Bank. These deficits must be fully cleared up and settled. Speaking about the federal budget, all the deficits covered by National Bank loans, which in fact means by printing money, must be converted into a federal state debt for a fixed period of years. Agreed interest will be paid on this debt from the federal budget every year, so that in the future, the federation will have to resort to its own revenue and to borrowing when it wants money, like anybody else, and will bear the obligation to regularly service its debt and handle its own securities. This is the only way to (?establish the principle of thrift) and full responsibility in handling (?money).

Other sociopolitical communities should act in the same way, and must clearly indicate how, from which sources, and within which time they will liquidate (?all their) deficits.

The fiscal sphere is closely linked with this. In this sphere, a system still prevails that does not favor the attainment of any of the three goals of fiscal policy—the economic, the social, and the fiscal goals. The change in this system must be thorough. One must not tax the factors of production but really created income. Taxes must not have the role of (?anticipating) the costs and of providing revenue to any budget before new value, and profit based on it, are created.

When an enterprise or an individual creates income, the tax liability will depend on the use or purpose to which this income is put. The taxation policy will favor savings and accumulation [words indistinct]. This means that fiscal policy is an important part of economic and development policy, and thus also of fiscal policy in the narrow sense of the term, because the growth of income and its rapid increase make (?a growth of revenue) possible. This also applies to the fiscal policy obligations in the domain of resolving certain questions of social policy and alleviating social tension. This, then, is a very sensitive instrument that has multiple consequences for the development of the economy and society.

We are only at the beginning of (?establishing) such a system that will be based on the aforementioned principles. In this respect, we—as a federation and country which has determined relations in social services in a way that is totally different from the hitherto familiar practice, through self-managing interest communities and contributions which rest on the so-called free exchange of labor—have the obligation to successfully complete two basic tasks. First, which of the functions in the fiscal system, that is to say which of its fiscal functions, will be retained by the federation? Second, how to integrate contributions for social activities in the overall taxation system?

With regard to the first question, it will be easier for us to come to agreement if we proceed from several premises. This involves a fiscal system of the economy with an integrated market, a federation which treats the fiscal system and policy only as a part of the macroeconomic management of the economy under market conditions and which is open to the world. In other words, it has only those rights in determining these relations as are able to ensure the necessary coordination of monetary fiscal policy and foreign economic policy. These relations are objectively given and without even a single one of these parts, the federation is not capable of providing equal and general conditions, competition, and a common economic policy. Everything else falls under the jurisdiction of republics, provinces, and communes and they are fully autonomous in this respect.

Certain republics have already approached reform of relations in the social sector but I think that a joint concept is lacking regarding the way to finance these activities and the way of integrating contributions into an overall taxation system. Therefore it is essential that in all republics and provinces [word indistinct] by the end of this year perceive and establish the situation in this sector and formulate essential proposals.

The Federal Executive Council is prepared to [word indistinct] in this and help in an expert search for the appropriate solutions. A law is being prepared on social activities which will regulate the establishment, organization, and financing of social activities. In the meantime, it is important that, until such a fiscal system is established, revenue [Markovic corrects himself] a law on the foundations of the taxation system and the two agreements on the taxation system and taxation policy which are before the SFRY Assembly are adopted in order to regulate relations in this field in the best possible way in the given circumstances.

Finally, the Federal Executive Council is insisting on the proposals that the period in which taxes and contributions are payable be shortened, as this is an essential condition for the federal budget and all other budgets to be separated from the National Bank, so that no deficits or readjustments arise, which always shake both the economy and all other activities; and that the rates of taxes and contributions for financing social activities should not be increased. Without this, one cannot prevent the taxes and contributions in the sphere of social financing from effecting an increase in inflation and particularly an increase in inflationary expectations.

Fourth: in the prices policy, the Federal Executive Council has followed the logic of market business operations. Our orientation toward the free formation of prices has been implemented almost fully. In parallel with this, the process of the liberalization of imports is running its course, which is only the other side of the coin of creating conditions for a normal market of commodities and healthy competition. The free formation of prices has occurred under conditions of deficits and losses in the economy, banking, and budgets, disturbed real price relations because of many years of administrative regulation of prices, the unfavorable structure of the economy, and the (?unavailability of foreign funds).

In such a situation, all the concealed and suppressed disproportions and imbalances have been clearly reflected in the market. Enterprises have tried to quickly improve their economic position through the free setting of prices and to correct unfavorable relations in prices. In this respect, in the existing conditions it has not been possible to prevent the escalation of prices and the indexation of all factors of production. However, it is indisputable that one had to embark on this process so that enterprises independently set prices and disparities in price relations are eliminated through the market, because if these disparities were to continue, any move to stabilize the economy and surmount the (?permanent) pressures on price increases would be blocked.

It is true that a high price was paid for this in the increase in inflation, but price relations have been essentially corrected and are no longer a great hindrance to the successful outcome of the macroeconomic measures that the Federal Executive Council is now proposing.

However, we are still facing difficult problems in the sphere of the market and prices. Because the economy has been a closed economy for a long time, and because of the segmentation of the market, monopolistic and oligopolistic behavior has come to prominence, and during the height of the consensus economy in which there was no (?real) influence from foreign and domestic markets, groups and other associations of producers in the economy used to make agreements on prices of a pronouncedly cartel type.

With all its economic measures, the Federal Executive Council has decided to energetically stop this practice by exposing economic entities to foreign competition, applying antimonopolistic measures known in the (?practice) of the market economy, and using commodity and financial reserves.

Another major obstacle to the normal functioning of the market is the state of our trade. This branch has been economically degraded for a long time. At present it is simply an agent of economic enterprises, possessing little capital of its own, insufficiently interested in the flow of trade and greater competition. We need able and penetrating trading firms, domestic, private, social, mixed, foreign firms that will successfully overcome all restrictions and constraints through the logic of cheaper goods and greater earnings, and in this way exert increasingly greater influence on production and its structure, changing [Markovic corrects himself] mixing the trade and production capital of different forms of ownership.

We also proposed the policy of commodity reserves, which is adapted to the market economy way of conducting economic affairs.

In addition to all this, as world experience demonstrates, the free price setting on the market cannot be a solution to the infrastructural or other activities that are of of general interest. A certain involvement of society in this is inevitable. However, this does not change our general stand that these activities must have an equal position with other activities, and that they should use economic criteria [words indistinct], as well as other means to ensure their equal economic position.

By using the common elements to set prices in all activities we have considerably reduced the differences in relative prices, although some serious consequences of an arbitrary application of the common elements and their monopoly position have emerged.

On the basis of examining our experience to date, we have provided the bases for the price policy in these spheres.

Fifth: In the domain of economic relations with other countries, which are the most vulnerable part at a time of high indebtedness and high inflation, the conditions have been created—under the influence of the measures undertaken to relieve the economy, liberalize imports, and use foreign exchange and the policy of insolvency [stecaj]—to make these relations perform a major positive role in stabilizing the economy and its restructuring.

Our balance of payments with other countries has been consolidated. We are meeting all our commitments in accordance with the agreement with the IMF and our creditors. The main stimuli for a rise in production are exports which clearly show a strong exponential tendency. Up the 25 September, our exports showed a rise in the hard currency area of 9.4 percent. If changes in monetary relations are excluded, the actual increase in exports is about 15 percent. Our orientation is to achieve in the next few years a rise in exports of at least 20 percent a year, because without this we will not be able to achieve a rise in the social product necessary to pay for the burdens created in the past and provide funds for the current expenditure and the future development.

Our foreign exchange reserves have increased to a record of $5,153,000,000 billion as of 21 September of this year. From the middle of March of this year alone, our foreign exchange were increased by $2.213 billion which, together with the reduction of the short-term loan, amounts to some $2.7 billion. It must be added that about $830 million of our foreign debt has been definitively extinguished. We used some $480 [Markovic corrects himself] $450 million for extinguishing this debt, which means that with extinguished $1.8 of our debt with each $1 spent.

The positive effects of these operations in terms of savings on discounts and interest repayments, exceed $1 billion. We are the only debtor country that has succeeded in achieving such results in the field of economic relations with other countries. The question of foreign exchange liquidity shortage no longer appears at all any more, so this is a very favorable basis for taking the economic policy measures and for a more resolute struggle against inflation.

Imports have been normalized and no longer represent an obstacle to the free conduct of production. The Federal Executive Council has now also carried out a further liberalization of imports in the consumer goods sector by reducing import duties and directing the economy toward the import of cheaper goods. We should now turn toward production, toward reducing costs, improving the quality of our products, keeping to delivery dates, and winning new markets. Since we have provided all the opportunities for unhindered exports—including a stimulating rate of exchange and other incentive measures—it is now up to the exporters to take up the role of making production and the restructuring of our economy more dynamic.

Having in mind the measures proposed by the Federal Executive Council now, we believe that we will reach agreement with international financial institutions in the course of the coming months, and with the creditors afterwards. It is a fact that in the past 3 years, we paid over $12 billion dinars in hard currencies as repayment of the principal and interest, and we paid almost $2 billion in 8 months of this year, without obtaining any fresh loans this year.

Of course, the question of accumulation now rears its head, and no longer the question of foreign exchange liquidity. Our medium-term and long-term foreign debt in hard currencies at the end of July amounted to $16.9 billion, and our net hard currency debt after the deduction of our claims on credits amounted to about (?$14.2) billion. In view of this, we see no reason for misunderstandings with the creditors. On the contrary, we rightly expect their understanding and support in our program of stabilization, development, and restructuring of the economy. This implies a wider cooperation with foreign capital, as well as a full normalization of our access to the world financial market.

Sixth: It is necessary to refer to the situation in the economy and to the need of its adjusting to the new conditions of business operations. The burden of losses, devalued property, and doubtful claims is heavy, and this all together hinders it and forces it to struggle for its survival. The most creative cadres are preoccupied with the solving of the daily problems instead of advancing the technology, the organization of work, internal economics, winning new markets, design, and so forth.

It is, therefore, essential that every enterprise should draw up a realistic balance sheet and establish the real situation, and find solutions for the existing losses by involving interested partners at home and abroad, (?private) capital, new technology, and new markets, and should set itself up accordingly as a joint-stock or a mixed enterprise. One should not fear to, in quotes, alienate a portion of the property, with the preference of selling it to the workers of the enterprise wherever possible.

Solutions may also lie in issuing bonds or shares so as to obtain funds for development, in stimulating the motivation for entrepreneurship, in preparing cadres for business under market conditions, in renewing the managing board [poslovni odbor], in renewing the workers councils, in a new role of the trade unions, and so on.

I emphasize that every enterprise must search for a specific solution for every problem above all by itself and must find it within itself and with its workers, in cooperation with interested partners at home and abroad, with banks, and with its sociopolitical communities. Wherever such solutions cannot be found, the insolvency procedure [postupak stecaja] will inevitably have to be initiated.

It is clear that the transformation of the economy on market foundations will not be equally difficult for all the republics and provinces. It is an encouraging fact that all the parts of the country agree in their views on the need of a market-oriented economy. Now is a chance for the Fund for Encouraging an Accelerated Development of Economically Underdeveloped Regions to be transformed and reorganized in keeping with the changes of the economic system as a whole, and to become an efficient institution that stimulates and ensures a more rational use of resources, encourages domestic and foreign enterprises to invest in the economically underdeveloped regions, and provides and finances technical assistance, the training of cadres, and research and innovations.

The Federal Executive Council is aware of the gravity of the problem of the underdeveloped regions, and is prepared to cooperate in assessing the situation and to help with measures, above all measures of a market nature that must be taken in the transitional period.

Seventh: in such times, social policy has special importance. In crisis periods, the most balanced (?spreading) of the burden and aid to the most deprived is a social imperative but also an economic necessity so that the crisis is surmounted in society with as few conflicts as possible and the course of reform is not threatened.

Thus, the adoption of social programs is indisputable and the Federal Executive Council sees two important areas of social action along this line. The first is in the domain of social security which is in the jurisdiction of self-managing interest communities and the appropriate institutions of communes, republics, and provinces. In cooperation with these, the federation can help as an additional factor by contributing to jointly covering expenses, bearing in mind the situation in certain parts of the country. In this sense, by surrendering part of the federation's revenue from tax on tobacco, the Federal Executive Council has contributed to expanding sources of revenue for aid to the most deprived.

The second area of social action is no less important but is certainly more difficult; it involves the problem of illusory employment which is estimated at around 20 percent of current employment at the Yugoslav level. In the process of reorganizing the state and social activities, the financial rescue of the economy, and its restructuring, an increasingly acute problem will be how to provide retraining for workers who leave enterprises as part of the economic and technological surplus of labor, and how to ensure that they are accepted for and that they fill new jobs and are productively employed.

We intend to, on the one hand, open up an appropriate process for the modernization of the economy and changes to its structure and, on the other, to prevent the subsistence and basic rights of workers from being put at risk, while they are training for new jobs.

(?It has been shown) that to solve such serious problems it is essential to establish social institutions which will be concerned with these problems and have the corresponding finance from different sources.

However, in all of this the Federal Executive Council will endeavor to ensure that a discussion is begun as soon as possible in the SFRY Assembly and among experts so that the necessary realistic proposals can be swiftly put forward.

Eighth: Even though at this stage of the struggle for stabilization and the curbing of inflation—because of the (?contractional) effect of measures of anti-inflationary policy, the great doubtful claims in our economy and society which should be eliminated, the technological backwardness of production capacities, and the lack of accumulation—it is not possible to more quickly achieve more significant results in (?speeding up) economic growth, we must at all costs search for ways of beginning the process of the realization of a new concept of developmental strategy. Its focus should be aimed at a stronger opening up of processes of shaping new production structures so it will be export oriented, particularly in those economic activities where there are available resources and unused possibilities like tourism, agriculture, transport, small businesses, and so on.

This should include small [word indistinct] enterprises, particularly intended for quicker adaptation to the demands of the domestic and world markets, which are at the same time labor intensive. The new economic system based on the pluralism of ownership treated in the same way as all forms of ownership and the integrated market creates favorable institutional possibilities for realizing this orientation. Thus, it creates an adequate division of labor and the infiltration of certain forms of ownership in these sectors of the economy because it can achieve the greatest results. This is because they stimulate saving and a free flow of accumulated funds toward places where earnings are highest and constitute a new system of financing reproduction for working and developmental needs and of collecting finance through securities.

Second, ensuring that resources are adequately allocated stimulates the economization of production sectors and raises the efficiency of economic operation onto a higher level. Priority should be given to joint investment, using foreign finance, marketing, organization, and technology. Preparations should be completed to this end and some of the great infrastructural and developmental projects should be promoted on the world and particularly European market on a commercial basis using legal provisions concerning foreign investment and the concept of construction and exploitation.

The economic policy measures and taxation, credit, and foreign trade policies will stimulate all these processes because only by speeding up economic growth and development on healthy bases can lasting conditions be created for the stabilization of the Yugoslav economy, for the way out of the crisis, and for increasing employment, the living standard, and the well-being of society, which is the ultimate aim of our economic development policy.

Ninth: I have intentionally left the problem of inflation until the end of this part of my speech. I wanted to sketch the necessary institutional changes and the general frameworks of macroeconomic policy so that, on the basis of what has been done and what is to come, we could more realistically and quite specifically consider the possible ways for overcoming inflation and take a stand supporting what the Federal Executive Council has decided to propose to the SFRY Assembly.

I would first of all point out that it is not necessary to exhaustively demonstrate the entire destructive nature of inflation and the necessity to overcome it as soon as possible. The history of economic theory contains many examples of the economic and social body being destroyed as a consequence of long-lasting inflation. What we call the measures needed to curb inflation is not a problem either. The most important thing is that they work.

Since the beginning of its work, the Federal Executive Council has held the view that inflation is the most important problem, and everything that it has been doing and proposing has had the aim of creating the necessary prerequisites and conditions to surmount this.

For these reasons, at the beginning of my speech I spoke about the problems in switching over to the market way of conducting business affairs and about our serious (?inheritance), not only in terms of the enormous foreign debt, but also in terms of the even greater deficits of public financial institutions, banks, and the economy. Even if we had had all the necessary market institutions set up at that time, we would not have been able to curb inflation easily and overnight. Without these institutions, that is the labor, money, and capital markets, in the battle against inflation we would have had to operate with the old arsenal of administrative and unproductive measures which would reinforce the existing situation of the incipient process of economic changes and slow them down.

One should also mention other major constraints and distortions in economic trends. After all, we are talking about the time when we had a relatively low level of foreign exchange reserves which could hardly cover imports for 1 month, about deeply disturbed price relations which can only be corrected by the market, about great distortions in personal incomes which often have no economic justification, about complete disorder in the monetary sphere, and about the fact that under such conditions the National Bank of Yugoslavia was not able to control aggregate monetary measures. As a consequence of this, the trends in this sphere represented a strong generator of inflation, and so forth.

Aware of all this, the Federal Executive Council acted in several directions to create the preconditions for the use of those methods which would be most suitable for curbing inflation under these conditions. The measures of an anti-inflationary character are briefly mentioned here, although I already spoke about them at the beginning.

The liberalization of foreign exchange dealings, the stimulating of exports, and a gradual liberalization of imports have not only mended our economic position in relation to other countries, but have also provided foreign exchange liquidity and created a high level of foreign exchange reserves. This is one of the essential conditions for a more resolute undertaking of a wide spectrum of measures needed to combat inflation.

The liberalization of prices has established more economically justifiable price relations. This is also an important condition for the further necessary steps in checking inflation. In the preparatory stage, we tried to maintain the production level in order not to make the situation more difficult, especially the social situation, which is grave enough without this. We also undertook measures to ensure the highest possible agricultural production.

We also tried to eliminate all irregular methods of payment, ensure that all liabilities are met, and that there are correct accounting records of business performance, because this is the condition for a good insight into the situation and for undertaking appropriate measures.

Together with the National Bank of Yugoslavia, the Federal Executive Council has done everything to enable it to efficiently carry out its functions as a monetary institution, without which any model of curbing inflation would not be successful. The Federal Executive Council proposed a law on the bases of the taxation system and agreements that should facilitate the appropriate pursuit of a joint fiscal policy, without which the entire burden of carrying out the straggle against inflation would rest only on the monetary policy. It proposed a labor relations law as the basis for founding a labor market. This law was adopted. With the proposal for a law on setting up a money and securities market we initiated the process of founding the money and securities market. Taking this into account, the concept of the Federal Executive Council on curbing inflation consists of the following:

Because the main characteristic of the present high inflation is the incorporation of inflationary expectations into the prices—which means sale in future prices instead of current prices that correspond to the present cost of production—inflation, regardless of its original generators, feeds on itself and accelerates unstoppably regardless of its original generators.

The Federal Executive Council is trying to eliminate all those elements of inflationary expectations which it can influence by means of systemic and economic and political measures. One of the most important things is the intervention already carried out in setting prices that are of interest for the country as a whole. In view of all this, the Federal Executive Council is demanding and will do its utmost to ensure that this is carried out consistently, that the interest on purchase credits and other customer costs are no longer included in the cost of production.

What with the 90-day credit, which at present by no means constitutes the upper time limit of credits in trade and industry, and the 30-percent inflation a month, more than one half of any price consists of the interest and the credit advanced to purchasers. Because this decision was not implemented, future inflation continued to be built into the prices especially during the course of September, when the retail prices of some products are three or four times higher than producers prices, and an unprecendently high inflation is to be expected in September.

Considering that the inflation expectations built into the price are primarily psychological in nature, all the pressure for, or even any hint that a freeze of prices and wages is necessary—and there were many recently—and the lack of acceptance of a part of the anti-inflationary measures have a pernicious influence and may continue to have a pernicious influence on a further escalation of prices and inflation.

The Federal Executive Council will insist that in accordance with the law on settlement of liabilities, any payment delayed by a single day should incur interest charged to the credit user, and the interest should not be included in the price. This will induce the economy to make payments more promptly (?and should result in) price reductions.

In this way the interests of consumers will be protected, and because of higher sales (?words indistinct) prices will be lowered (?in the interest of) consumers. It is in the economic interest of both producers and traders that the interest and revaluation [revalorizacija] be eliminated from the prices and that thus the price increases be reduced, and that on this basis, turnover, production, and profits should increase.

In this connection, the Federal Executive Council will (?restrict) the use of credit paper in the direction indicated, above all the use of the bills of exchange as a means of non-cash payments.

In the same way, on the basis of an analysis of the functioning of the accounting law, the experience gained in its implementation will be examined and the necessary corrections will be proposed to eliminate the shortcomings noticed both in order to ensure that the statements of accounts (?and forecasts) are realistic, and in order to reduce the incentives to inflation.

b—[letter as heard] Research shows that the economy, noneconomic activities, and the budgets, pay high inflation taxes because of the slowness in collecting revenues under the conditions of social ownership. The budgets of the social activities budgets suffer an especially high inflation tax because they are so sluggish. Therefore they push up the rates of taxes and contributions and shift them over to the final consumers, and ultimately the burden is shifted on to the economy which in turn builds it into prices in the form of inflation expectations, thus pushing the prices to a much higher level. If we prevent this, we will contribute to a further reduction of inflation on this basis.

c—In order to conduct a successful struggle against inflation, we will insist that the monetary policy should be fully subordinated to this goal. There can be no efficient anti-inflationary policy without a monetary policy. The National Bank of Yugoslavia must assume as its primary task to preserve the value of the national currency and thus to stop the slide in the purchasing power of the dinar. To make this possible, measures will be taken to reduce considerably the part of the primary money issue that is not under the influence of the National Bank of Yugoslavia, and the bank should to a greater extent or more flexibly use the instruments of quantitative monetary policy at its disposal, above all the obligatory reserves of the commercial banks.

With this aim in mind, measures will be taken to reduce, and possible to abolish, the fiscal nature of the existing system of obligatory bank reserves. From the need to invest the temporary available budget funds through the money market, which has been mentioned earlier, it follows that the sales and purchases of securities on the so-called open market will begin shortly.

d—Because of the institutional automatism in the primary money issue, as well as because of inflation which, in the shape of inflationary expectation and inflation tax, is built into the costs and thus the prices, an exceptional monetary expansion occurred at of the beginning of June this year. To at least partially alleviate its effect on prices, measures will be systematically adopted to increase the money demand of the economy and of the population, and of all other subjects.

The said payment of personal incomes once a month, the measures to shorten the terms of payments, prompt payments of taxes and contributions, preventing the non-cash-payment instruments being misused as means of obtaining credit, and some other measures should be adopted so that they may effect a reduction in inflation.

e—It is indispensable that other socialist communities should also follow the example of the federation and that they make their contribution to the reduction of inflation by consolidating budgetary expenditure and outlays for interventions in the economy, by financing them from real resources, and by reducing the expenditures thus consolidated.

f—By identifying the public sector deficit—involving the federation, the National Bank of Yugoslavia, the self-managing interest communities, the republics, the provinces, the communes, and the social activities, which I have elaborated more extensively earlier—which must be carried out by the end of this year, by taking measures to mop it up with real resources, and by separating the National Bank from state finances, one will definitely extinguish one of the most important generators of inflation, and thus reduce it.

g—The identification of the deficits in the banks and the economy, and legally mopping them up and liquidating them—which I have also spoken about earlier—will also have a strong anti-inflationary effect. The measures taken to eliminate the causes leading to excessively high real rates of interest, to eliminate the deficits, to promote monetary regulation instruments primarily in the field of obligatory reserves, as well as to prevent loss-makers from managing the banks will act in the same direction.

The payment of personal incomes on the basis of results will eliminate investment on the basis of inflationary expectations. There is no need to explain this, because it was elaborated in detail earlier.

A further liberalization of imports, especially of consumer goods, which the excellent foreign exchange liquidity of the country makes possible, and the reduction of taxes and dues by about 14 percent adopted by the Federal Executive Council, will make possible a much greater wealth of supply, greater competition of goods, a greater range of good varying in quality and price. This will be a significant contribution to the struggle against a monopoly formation of prices both by the producers and by the traders.

A law against monopolies is also in the works, and we will use it energetically in our efforts to break up numerous monopoly acts in the segmented Yugoslav market.

The new concept of the role of the commodity reserves makes it possible to affect more efficiently the relationships in the market and prices, and thus has a damping effect on their rise.

A successful application of measures may be expected to reduce considerably the inflationary expectations and to lower significantly the rate of inflation. Each of these measures has its role and constitutes a part of the overall efforts to achieve a major economic and psychological effect by eliminating the inflationary expectations as an element calculated into the prices as well as an element in reducing all the factors that affect inflation, and thereby opens the road toward curbing it.

Finally, I would like to say that both the Federal Executive Council and I personally understand that, in the present situation, the SFRY Assembly finds if difficult to accept and even rejects individual measures, because it does not see their role and place within the entire context of the program of the Federal Executive Council. For that reason, I presented the essence of the entire program of the measures of the Federal Executive Council. One can now see that what is involved are not isolated measures proposed ad hoc, and that each one of them has its sense and functions within the entire program. It is for that reason that, reckoning with your understanding, the Federal Executive Council insists upon some of the measures that the SFRY Assembly had already discussed and then postponed or that it had failed to adopt in the past.

In conclusion, I would like to reiterate once again that the Federal Executive Council is aware of the fact that the situation is difficult and that the inflations has a destructive effect. In our opinion, success in the struggle against inflation cannot fail if one creates prerequisites for the economy so it can be reoriented to the market conditions for conducting economic operations, if market instruments for managing the economy are created and activated, and if the foundations of the new economic development policy are developed in conformity with all that. These tasks have been completed in several months and thereby the main systemic conditions have been created and some important material conditions ensured for proceeding with the work on overcoming the inflation in such a way that economy can function and be market oriented.

As has already been said, any action aimed at reducing the inflation radically by using well-known methods and without the above-mentioned conditions, would show after a short time that its success is illusory, because the economy lacking market institutions would continue to work and behave as before. Examples of such unsuccessful attempts abound.

For this reason, the Federal Executive Council has decided to take steps in the following order:

a—You have in front of you the proposals of the measures that the Federal Executive Council thinks should be adopted together with the other laws pertaining to the formation of the new economic system based on market foundations. Immediately after these are adopted, the Federal Executive Council will insist that all measures that should lead to eliminating inflationary expectations should be implemented. With this in view, immediately after these measures are adopted, the Federal Executive Council will form a team with the task to have these measures implemented immediately and consequently to the end. The responsibility for this cannot rest on the Federal Executive Council alone. In this respect, we justifiably expect all assemblies and their executive organs, control organs, and above all the enterprises, to be aware of the responsibility all of us bear: Everybody should do his share, because the success of these measures will much depend on that.

b—In the meantime, one must work even more efficiently on establishing normal market institutions and mechanisms and one must elaborate fully and operationalize the economic policy in all its spheres and upon the foundations I have presented here.

c—Considering that we have pointed out even before that no solutions are given for good and that this program of the measures of the economic policy is open, the preparations for the final program of bringing down the inflation are currently under way at the Federal Executive Council. We shall propose this program when the necessary quantitative and qualitative aspects of this enterprise are taken into account. Until then, one must reach social consensus about the character of economy and society, proceeding from all I have said in this speech.

In the present political situation in the country, this could be that step which will unite all forces that agree that the only way out of the crisis and the only perspective of development lie in the social reform. This will not be in the least easy or painless, but there is no other way out. Considering all that has been sacrificed so far, one must not miss the opportunity to make this decisive step, all the more because we are now at the stage of the escalating inflation.

The time is a very important factor in all this. The success of the reform depends on the speed and completeness of the process of adopting and implementing these measures as a full program. As you can see, we are now racing against time. What is involved are not years, but months in which one must bring down the inflation. This will be an extremely difficult task considering the years we missed, the lag in development, material situation of the population, and the great liabilities of the economy.

Only after we (?realize that), will the roads open up for the renewal of economy and society and for the perspective of development in conformity with the times we live in and with the development of the world.

Considering the long crisis and the grave situation with the socially deprived population strata, one must examine the possibility to activate the unused potentials of additional resources with a view to making everything that is being undertaken—and particularly that what will follow—much easier to endure.

In the first place, it is necessary through economic policy measures by the banks and economy to stimulate the savings of citizens and enterprises, then act in the same way through all internal measures undertaken by enterprises; remuneration, economizing on factors of production, improving on internal economy, increasing labor production, increasing turnover rate, improving on the range of goods, motivating entrepreneurship, increasing the interest in accumulation as a means of survival of every enterprise and a promise of its future and thus in the existence and perspective of every worker and his family act as the only realistic alternative for opening the process of new development and employment.

The second real possibility is to activate the huge social capital invested in the social-housing fund. In addition to stimulating the special purpose savings and construction for the market, one should also facilitate the purchase of socially owned apartments through economic rents in the first place.

If somebody who rents accommodations is prepared to pay the full economic rent, he should be able to become the owner of that accommodation over a period of 20 or 30 years. Regarding mortgages for new apartments, they should be set on the same bases. Starting this process would be of great importance in view of the fact that almost one tenth of the social wealth of our country is in the housing stock which is gradually deteriorating due to neglect, and in view of the fact that we lack funds for the construction of new dwellings.

Selling apartments and activating the housing construction and the construction sector we would simultaneously achieve several aims: mobilize funds, increase savings, and finance new construction with individual participation and favorable bank loans on the bases of the accumulated funds from the sale of apartments.

The Federal Executive Council is working on this program and will soon present its proposals to the public. The Federal Executive Council's intention coincides with similar moves in some republics and provinces.

Third: In agriculture, which has been exhausted with the treatment it has received hitherto, there is a concentration of significant potentials which should be activated with adequate social and economic treatment of agriculture and village. It has been correctly observed by the people involved in agriculture that there is no stabilization without a stable and prosperous agriculture. The Federal Executive Council has proposed to the SFRY Assembly a package of measures which should be discussed in this house as part of a long-term project which, in addition to (?removing) ideological and other restrictions with which agriculture has been hindered, will also start the process of its accelerated consolidation and above all development. This is not only an economic necessity, but also part of the project of creating a new economic and social structure of Yugoslavia.

Fourth: We must not forget the considerable potentials that exist in the sphere of tourism and small businesses which have been achieving a series of increasingly important results. They should also be a subject of special attention of the economic policy.

Fifth: As I have already mentioned before, trade and its abilities to provide a flow of goods and funds via all artificial and actual borders, to restrict monopolies and influence the new structure of the economy, is another major factor with unused potentials. However, in trade we must radically change the methods of work. If anyone needs to learn and adopt the methods of modern marketing, it is trade.

Sixth: The available foreign exchange instills security for undertaking bolder ventures, supports the most progressive, boldest economic and other ventures, and serves as the basis which relieves the economy of uncertainty and fear from sudden changes in the conditions for conducting business affairs at home and abroad. To businessmen themselves it provides certainty in the transfers of their earnings. It represents a defense from nervous, sudden, and hasty measures and fears that the country will become illiquid.

Seventh: In the process of financially rescuing the economy and starting a new cycle of development, the new ownership relations in our country and new forms of management in the mixed and other forms of enterprises will make it possible to transform some socially owned enterprises into mixed enterprises, to partially sell them, transform them into joint stock companies and in this way create conditions for the inflow of new fresh funds from the country and abroad. The money and securities market, which will start to operate next month, and the urgent need to rescue the economy and provide the successful enterprises with the funds for capital accumulation in order to expand, are the realistic chance to start moving from the present situation in which investments are increasing smaller, and to simultaneously and directly, after surmounting inflation, start a more dynamic life and development.

Only this can turn us toward the future and the building of a new and prosperous society. In all domains of the economic policy this course should be stimulated with specific measures. This will arouse the interest of all those who own funds to invest them productively.

Finally, everything that we have been doing entitles us to the right to full understanding from other countries and help in our efforts to above all expand our economic relations with the world and to the confidence that investing in Yugoslavia will be of mutual benefit.

We are one of the very few debtor countries that has been regularly meeting its obligations to its creditors. I am convinced that the new funds will not be lacking if we offer programs and ideas with realistic chances for the success of joint ventures. In this context we will hold negotiations with the major partners, the strongest and most developed countries, and of course, the IMF and the International Bank.

Not wishing to deal with the numerous other obligations about which we are going to hold special discussions here, as the chairman of the Nonaligned Movement we will have a lot of work in activating and solving the key problems of the development of the present world in terms of North-South and the problems concerning mutual economic relations, especially the problems of development and debts.

I must stress [Markovic corrects himself] we must come up with new ideas for solving this problem and be ready for the broadest possible international cooperation and dialogue.

Comrades, I stressed at the beginning that for the successful planning and implementation of the economic reform, it is essential that changes in the political and economic system be mutually dependent and implemented in parallel. I also indicated some questions in the economic system for which it is not possible to find adequate solutions because of constitutional limitations. Having stressed that they are of particular importance for the successful stabilization of our economy and the way out of the crisis, the Federal Executive Council, as one of the authorized initiators of changes to the SFRY Constitution, will give the initiative for opportunities to be created through the necessary changes in the existing constitution for regulating these questions.

We are talking above all about questions that relate to the actual owner of social property and his responsibility for using social capital. In this respect, of particular importance is the fact that these changes facilitate the transformation of property into other forms of property and its purchase, including its purchase by foreign workers in specific enterprises. This would create wide opportunities for new and profitable enterprises to be created and for the resources that are lacking for current developmental needs, the financial rescue of many enterprises, and increasing the overall efficiency of the economy to be provided.

Because of the importance of the material and the fact that it will not be possible to implement the constitutional changes so quickly, the Federal Executive Council is asking for the support of the SFRY Assembly so that, through a creative interpretation of the Constitution, these questions are immediately regulated in an appropriate way in a law which will soon be proposed. These questions include the fiscal system, including the taxation system which would be constructed on the aforementioned changes, and the rights and obligations of the Federal Executive Council in the field of economic functions of the federation. This involves the need to eliminate certain constitutional limits which prevent the Federal Executive Council—within the framework of its role and responsibility for the situation in the country—from being able to take appropriate measures within the framework of macroeconomic policy and implement federal laws and other regulations in this field.

The prerequisite for efficiently carrying out the functions of the state in this domain is the creation of general conditions for economic operations in the context of the full application of an integrated market. This is an important prerequisite for successfully and effectively conducting macroeconomic policy, particularly in the field of monetary and fiscal policy and foreign economic relations policy, without which there is no corresponding modern role for the state in the system of a market economy.

Changes in the political system which concern above all the organization of the entire social superstructure, the place and role of the state, sociopolitical organizations, and economic associations (?depend on) the need to create a constitutional foundation for reform in these domains which would be in line with the market character of the market, based on mixed ownership and the construction of a modern democratic society.

Comrades, in what I have just said, I have explained our earlier and future economic policy measures of an anti-inflationary nature along the line of the program that you accepted as a Yugoslav orientation—when you entrusted me with the mandate—for a successful way out of the crisis and the prosperity of the country. We are in no doubt that reasoned dialogue, critical verification, and joint consideration are essential conditions for a democratic society to reach the right solutions, particularly in crisis periods. We need this spirit more than ever now, not only here and now but everywhere and every time a discussion is conducted, particularly when this involves questions that are crucial for the future of the country. Confrontations without arguments and without the possibility of dialogue, in general and particularly among the republics and provinces of the federation, among the trade unions, and in political organizations lead nowhere.

Contrary to this, the easiest way to come to the way out of the serious situation and comprehensive solutions even for the most serious problems is through argued dialogue and the presentation of programs without preconceptions, prejudices, and prior accusations and stands. Much more mutual consultation and a qualitative check on every enterprise and proposed step will allow improvisation, easy answers, and ready-made prescriptions to be avoided.

We must find the end result in short-term, specific, and long-term interests and measures. We should not allow the future to darken and be lost under the burden of the present day, or to lose sight of the obligation to resolve the real problems effectively and quickly. Working in this way, we will have the full support of all the progressive forces in our country, which exist in all areas of Yugoslavia, and we will jointly and decisively embark on implementing the reform that we have unanimously decided on.

It is impossible to motivate a person in a statistical future with unrealistic promises that we can extricate ourselves from the crisis overnight. We must be aware that the battle for the reform that we have started will not be without sweat or even tears. However, if every person in this country completely realizes what he will gain in this battle—him as an individual, as well as his family, his existential and work community, his republic or province, and our Yugoslav community as a whole—and if he realizes that we do not have either the time or reliable alternatives, I am sure that he will heartily join in with it.

With the measures that have been taken so far and future ones, we are consolidating conditions so that the prosperity of every individual to depend on him himself, his knowledge, expertise, diligence, effort, initiative, and creativity and his concern for the quality of what he produces or undertakes. In brief, prosperity depends on his work and results of work. This in fact creates many opportunities for motivating all factors in our community, from the individual to the whole of society, and for the better ones to be even better and for others to look to them.

All this today and tomorrow are the realistic pretensions of new socialism. No country or people is immune from crisis nor destined only for success. If we paged through history every time, we would realize from the examples of any people that have experienced crisis, that the present crisis is not our inevitable destiny and we will come out of it through joint efforts. The best way is the prudent and realistic facing of problems with the least possible ideologization and one-sided insistence on only one's own view and with more pragmatism and a sense of what is practical and realizable in the daily facing of life's problems in this computer and electronic age which requires argument, reason, precision, and certainty.

This of course does not exclude but assumes our clear orientation toward the society and economy for which we are struggling.

Please allow me to say what I am about to say and do not interpret it as emotion but as a call to sound reason. In the present quarrels, when Yugoslavia and its future are even being undermined and when all sorts of claims are used to represent Yugoslavia as some kind of construction or artificial creation, a very sober objective analysis of Yugoslavia and its possibilities would unambiguously show that this is not true. Despite all its contradictions, it represents an uncommonly successful composition with important advantages for all its peoples and nationalities, which are placed alongside each other like an interesting mosaic.

In the name of reason, in the name of the accountability of everyone before the people, the younger generation, the future, and before history, we must embark as soon as possible on resolving the real problems through proven values and the real advantages of this country, so that we can catch up with the world. Yugoslavia—turned toward European trends and the world—has quite different problems and different imperatives to those which now divide us and make us small and impotent in the eyes of the world.

Each one of us, and especially all of us together, has the right to a better destiny. It depends only on us and in this respect, we are all sitting the examination of history. Thank you.

Assembly Debates Economic Plan

LD3009120889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1741 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 29 Sep (TANJUG)—At today's session of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly, support was given in principle to the program of economic policy for this year and the anti-inflation measures, which Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic explained to delegates of both chambers of the assembly. All those taking part in the debate assessed as positive the continuation of the course of reform, and they stated that the market orientation in the previous solutions of the federal government had already produced certain results, above all in the domain of economic relations with foreign countries. However, there was no absence of criticism either. There was criticism above all of the fact that there are still no solutions that could have a more rapid effort on halting the destructive inflation.

On the basis of today's debate, the conclusions of this chamber will be prepared and delegates will vote on them at the next session, scheduled for 5 October.

Discussing the stances of the Macedonian assembly, Tahir Kadriu stressed that there had been support for the FEC orientation to call a more decisive halt to monopolistic behavior by some domestic producers. The proposal that by the end of the year all internal deficits in society be identified was also supported, Kadriu added, assessing that this should be done in a uniform way and accompanied by an envisioned method of covering them from real monetary sources.

Kadriu observed that there could be no completely positive assessment of the government's economic policy given the galloping inflation and the uncertain prospects of bringing an end to it soon. He criticized the fact that the FEC failed to come up with solutions which would also involve the federation in the drawing up of social policy, essential in conditions of increasingly severe social adversity. A great failure of the "package," Kadriu believes, is that it does not offer solutions to problems in the economy of the insufficiently developed republics and Kosovo. [passage omitted]

Federal Chamber Discusses Policy

LD3009144989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1957 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 29 Sep (TANJUG)—At a session of the Federal Chamber held after the session of both assembly chambers, at which Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic submitted his report on economic policy this year and the measures of an anti-inflationary character, a principled debate was conducted on the overall government "package". Delegates used, as a basis for this meaningful debate—apart from the FEC measures—documents prepared by the Yugoslav National Bank, the Social Accountancy Service, and the Presidium of the Council of the Yugoslav Trade

Union Federation, as well as the views of Assembly committees on the FEC's intentions in finding a way out of the crisis. [passage omitted]

The guidelines put forward for action against high inflation are acceptable, but the strategy of fiscal policy, housing construction, and agriculture, and also other important fields must be precisely elaborated, Neset Zubi stressed. He also pointed out that the transition to a market economy is not possible unless the problem of the insufficintly developed republics and provinces is resolved effectively, though precise measures to accomplish this have not yet been put forward. [passage omitted]

If retail prices go on increasing until the end of the year at the rate they have been over the last 3 months, inflation could go beyond the figure of 2,000 percent, Radivoj Tepsic stressed. It must therefore be curbed more effectively than it has hitherto, and it must be known exactly within which period of time, and what the effect will be of individual measures. This is not evident from the proposed program. [passage omitted]

The Federal Chamber, following the debate, adopted short working conclusions. More complete and precise conclusions will be prepared on the basis of today's debate for the next session of the chamber.

The chamber positively assessed the FEC measures for halting and combating inflation. At the same time, the FEC is called on to draw up as soon as possible the conclusive program for combating inflation which was announced by government President Ante Markovic in his speech today. This in fact amounts to the completion of measures for combating inflation.

The Federal Chamber this evening approved, with two abstentions and three votes against, the changes in the law on financial transactions, which are exceptionally important for the fate of personal incomes. In short, incomes will be dependent on business results and trends in the cost of living. In the course of a month, wages will in future be calculated in two tranches, but only what was earned in the previous month will be paid out and there will be no advance payments. This will permit the distribution of earned rather than planned income. [passage omitted]

Loss-making enterprises in future will have to first meet their commitments to creditors and only then personal incomes. Crucial to this restriction was the statement by experts from the Social Accountancy Service that wages, regardless of where they come in the order of payments, are always met first.

For the purpose of equating wages with business results, the social agreement on the distribution of income is being resurrected. This requires the so-called starting amounts in the distribution of incomes and profit in the current and coming year, which will be set by the federal government, as made possible this evening with the adopted changes in the law on planning. The FEC will in fact establish as starting amounts the gross personal income per worker and the rate of accumulation according to resources. Republican and provincial starting amounts will be coordinated with those of the federation.

With the approved changes in the law on the elimination of unfair competition and monopolistic agreements, it becomes possible to take proceedings against enterprises for economic offenses if agreements are concluded on the importation of goods at a price above that of the commodity exchange or the most favourable on the domestic market. [passage omitted]

President Stojcevic Addresses Croat LC Plenum

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[Excerpts] Zagreb, 22 Sep (TANJUG)—Stanko Stojcevic, president of the Croatian League of Communists [LC] Central Committee Presidium, spoke at the Croatian LC Central Committee plenum this afternoon on the current political situation in the socialist republic [SR] of Croatia and on the statement issued by the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee [PC]. Stankovic recalled that at this plenum strategy had been debated and the basic guidelines laid down for LC action in the period ahead. We are convinced that in this way we are expressing the true interests of the SR of Croatia, its working people and citizens, and all its nations and nationalities, he said.

The course of the reform and democratic socialism which we are campaigning for faces great trials and great resistance. The forces of nationalism, chauvinism, authoritarianism, and regression, which are aggressively making their appearance in the SFRY, are the chief threats to its future and the implementation of economic reform, the reform of the political system and in this way of the material (?policy) of people, as well as to the democratization of political life and stable and equal intranational relations in the SR of Croatia, Stojcevic stressed.

Today, according to him, there obviously exist two conceptions of how to overcome the Yugoslav crisis. The forces of reform and democratic socialism are in conflict with the forces of authoritarianism and regression. This conflict exists, with lesser or greater intensity, in all environments. It also takes place through intranational relations, social conflicts, and ideological and political struggle. In terms of Yugoslavia as a whole the conflict is being conducted on several key issues.

Firstly, on the program and practice of the economic reforms being implemented by the Federal Executive Council [FEC]. The economic basis of the statist system is being demolished by the reform processes which have begun, the establishment of a market economy, and by the deregulation and liberalization of, and the creation of the independence of, economic subjects, and by the abandonment of the direct interference of the state and party bureaucracy. Resistance to this, Stojcevic points out, is being expressed in the demand for the establishment of prior and initial equality and for a new state regulatory system, while the difficult social circumstances are being used to hamper the processes of reform.

Secondly, conflicts are being conducted over the social position and organization of the League of Communists of Yugoslavic [LCY]. Efforts to bring about the fundamental reform of the political system, the establishment of political pluralism and the abandonment of elements of the monopoly position of the LC are clashing with the evermore aggressive practice of the renewal of monopolies and monolithism in sections of the LCY and efforts to bring about the establishment of such practice in the whole organization of the LCY.

Thirdly, conflicts are being conducted over the character of the Federation and necessary changes in the institutions of the system to make them more suited to the demands of contemporary development, the modern market economy, and the state's contemporary and democratic rule of law and pluralist democracy. [passage omitted]

The Croatian LC, or rather the LCY, cannot accept a revision of the policy of the national equality of our nations and nationalities, and this was clearly stated in the LCY Central Committee stances at the 20th session. [passage omitted]

Today, we are faced with pressures and action aimed at stimulating intranational dissension and distrust, and on this basis with attempts to destabilize political circumstances in the SR of Croatia. The protagonists of such policy are attempting, Stojcevic claims, to frustrate the possibility of the SR of Croatia becoming an active and responsible factor in shaping the road to resolve the crisis and crucial issues in the SFRY. The aim is to blockade and marginalize the SR of Croatia in its contribution to resolving common problems and the opening up of further processes of the democratic socialist transformation of the Yugoslav community and against the recognizable and profiled political line, which is bringing into dispute and threatening the AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] bases of Yugoslavia.

This activity is visible in the stimulation of Serbian nationalism for the purpose of separating Serbs in Croatia from life together with Croats and the negation of the SR of Croatia as their common homeland and state, as well as the creation of a feeling of insecurity among Serbs in Croatia. On the same lines Croatian nationalism is also making its appearance in an ever more aggressive way. Today, Stanko Stojcevic points out, it is being reflected in the attempts to revive the policy of Maspok [Croatian nationalist movement in 1971] and negate the achievement of the national liberation struggle and the socialist revolution and common life in the SR of Croatia, as a state of the Croatian people, the Serbian people in Croatia and other nations and nationalities in it. Furthermore, it also welcomes the impulses originating from statements on the alteration of the borders of the SR of Croatia and the SFRY and on the genocide of Croatians and the like, which it uses as proof that the Croatian people in the SFRY are endangered and to stress the need for an exclusive Croatian national program and policy.

Greater Serbian nationalism, in its intention to alter the SFRY, resorts to the old tactic according to which the Serbian people in Croatia should be a bargaining chip in conflicts and agreements between Croatian and Serbian nationalism. Nationalist concern for the Serbs in Croatia is based on surpressed, but also open, theses whereby they neither can nor are they capable of expressing their own social, political, and cultural demands. Hence nationalists are requesting that they be exclusively a part of general Serbian policy in Yugoslavia which would be formulated "in the homeland of the Serbian nation." All past and present leaderships, institutions, and organizations in the SR of Croatia are listed as the creators and assistants opposing Serbian policy.

Particularly worrying is the fact that publicly expressed nationalistic stances were not given a clear political response in environments in which they arose. Furthermore, the political leaderships of these environments assess that in their sphere intranational relations are stable and that there are no nationalist actions and phenomena. Hence this is no longer a question of political short-sightedness but a question of this policy itself.

Several days ago the Presidium of the Croatian LC CC considered the stances in the statement from the Presidium of the Vojvodina LC PC. It was assessed, Stojcevic recalls, that these contents and methods are against the principles of relations in the LCY. As a result the Croatian LC CC Presidium has rejected them in their entirety. We do not dispute the right of a single organ and organization of the LC, including the Vojvodina LC PC Presidium, to come up with initiatives to consider certain social phenomena, but this right also includes the responsibility and obligation to make a contribution toward resolving the problems and not merely to intensify them by representing them in a one-sided way.

The comrades from the Vojvodina LC PC Presidium assessed circumstances in the SR of Croatia without giving their reasons and using lies and imputation. In our opinion, this statement by the Vojvodina LC PC Presidium contributes to the deterioration of intranational relations and the destruction of brotherhood and unity and weakens mutual trust and the action unity of the LCY. The activity of the legal institutions of the system is disputed and an extreme political voluntarism is advocated. In the Croatian LC we have taken the clear standpoint that no party organ or leadership has the right to interfere in the work of the judicial organs nor to exert pressure on them and pass judgement and conduct proceedings in their place, Stojcevic said.

He then mentioned that in the Croatian LC this principle is respected and regardless of the experience of other environments there is no deviation from it. With its demand that the LCY Central Committee Presidium take action, the Vojvodina LC PC Presidium has disputed the primary role and responsibility of, and expressed its lack of confidence in, the Croatian LC as an independent and integral part of the united LCY and it has joined those whose goal is the reorganization of political relations in the SR of Croatia and the SFRY as well as in the LCY.

The problem also lies in the fact that the Vojvodina PC Presidium has failed on this occasion to to express a clear political standpoint and disassociate itself from the nationalistic and chauvinistic attacks on the Croatian people and the Serbian people in Croatia, and recently these attacks have more and more frequently been made precisely from the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina.

Stojcevic emphasizes that the stands of the Vojvodina LC PC Presidium open up some crucial questions of relations in the SFRY and the LCY. This requires a full-scale and well thought-out debate at a session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, which has basically already been done, but also in the LCY Central Committee. The Vojvodina LC PC Presidium has with these stands overstepped the border which no one should or can overstep in our relations. For the LC these are those interests and values on which the SR of Croatia and the SFRY are based, and on them there can be neither any negotiating nor any haggling.

As before, we will not reconcile ourselves to the phenomena of Croatian and Serbian nationalism and other nationalisms in Croatia. We will not allow the already created achievements of the equality of all the nations and nationalities in our republic to be questioned, Stojcevic stressed.

We shall continue to advocate full expression of the national identity of the Croatian people and of the Serbian people in Croatia and of all other nations and nationalities in the SR of Croatia. We are responsible for further development of the equality and national freedoms of all the nations and nationalities on the bases of the achievements of the National Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Croatia and AVNOJ. We are aware that real problems exist which should be resolved in the Croatian LC, and which are of interest to the Croatian and Serbian people and other nations and nationalities who live in the SR of Croatia, so that we might arrive at a higher level of the quality of life and at a higher level of human freedom, togetherness, and general progress.

Members of the Croatian LC must prevent any attempt to destroy intranational relations in their own environment. A passive attitude and opportunism on these issues is impermissible. Communists must react decisively to any nationalist phenomenon and excess and create conditions for peaceful life, work, respect for the personality and basic rights of the individual, and national and religious freedoms because these are our achievements, commitments, and prospects. Our variety, plurality, and different interests and specific features are our wealth. We use it in developing cooperation, mutual understanding, and respect for life together. In this way the Croatian LC, or rather the SR of Croatia, can make a contribution to strengthening and developing those principles and values on which the SFRY, as our common state and homeland is based, Stanko Stojcevic said.

Committee Reviews Serbian SAWP Activities

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[Text] Belgrade, 25 Sep (TANJUG)—The republic's new law on all-people's defense will provide the Socialist Republic of Serbia with conditions necessary for establishing a single system in this sphere on the repubic's entire territory to replace the three which have, objectively speaking, existed so far. This was stressed today at a session of the Coordinating Committee for All-People's Defense and Social Self-protection of the Serbian Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] Republican Conference at which the draft of the law received very flattering comments.

However, ensuing debate on the work of the Socialist Alliance in the preceding period, especially in the sphere of social self-protection and on a plan of activities up to 1993, was marked by somewhat more critical undertones. Attention was drawn to the discrepancy between largely satisfactory assessments of the Alliance's own activites on the one hand and a warning contained in a report on the work to the effect that "the disunity in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia leadership, the events in Kosovo, growing nationalism, chauvinism, separatism, and attacks on brotherhood and unity are seriously jeopardizing the country's defense capacities" on the other.

It was also said that in the future the Alliance—which has undoubtedly become more active than before—would have to pay even more attention to about 300 associations under its "umbrella" and, in particular, to new ones some of which were founded with possible political ambitions. The recent attempt by Belgrade ecologists to organize themselves was mentioned as an example. It was stressed that interest in the work of similar associations has to be maintained since, it is not impossible that one day new associatons will be founded along principles contrary to those advocated by the Socialist Alliance.